



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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27 July 1992

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South Africa

"The government has come up with new initiatives to resume the negotiations process, but has decided not to go public with the proposals," SAPA reported. The same source carried a statement by the ministers of justice and law and order, which announced new penalties for the "illegal possession and wrongful use of weaponry." The statement, however, also said that those who surrendered or notified police about the location of weapons and explosives before 31 July would be compensated and indemnified from prosecution.

The SUNDAY TIMES reported allegations by the country's top pathologist that 90 percent of those who died in detention "were killed by the police." The minister of law and order said the government regarded the accusations "in a very serious light," SAPA reported, while the ANC said it was "imperative that a full, public independent investigation be conducted."

Togo

General Gnassingbe Eyadema "strongly condemned" the attack on opposition politician Tavio Amarin, Lome Radio reported. Eyadema said the attack could jeopardize "efforts and initiatives aimed at resolving the political problems facing the country." He also demanded "an immediate inquiry into the incident in order to identify and bring to justice the perpetrators of this criminal act."

In a related development, Lome radio also reported that during a preliminary investigation, the government was able to recover "a consignment" of arms and ammunition. One of the guns discovered at the scene was found to belong to a police lance corporal, for whom a search was under way.

ECOWAS Summit To Open 27 Jul in Dakar*AB2607144092 Paris AFP in English 1141 GMT
26 Jul 92*

[Text] Dakar, July 26 (AFP) - The 15th annual summit of the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) will open here Monday [27 Jul] and is expected to take major decisions in order to breathe some life into the organisation.

Seventeen years after its foundation, the regional organisation which would like to become West Africa's answer to the 12-nation European Community is still trying to find its feet.

Abass Bundu, the ECOWAS executive secretary, said that unless there is a firm commitment from member states, regional integration would have no future.

One of the organisation's major problems is its inability to make its members pay their dues and without adequate funding even the best-laid projects will founder. Only Burkina-Faso, the Ivory Coast, Nigeria and Togo are up-to-date with their payments. The 12 others (Senegal, The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Mali, Ghana, Benin, Niger, Cape Verde and Mauritania) owe ECOWAS a total of around 28 million dollars.

So, one of the prime tasks facing the heads of state at the summit will be to adopt a proposal by ECOWAS finance ministers to raise money for the organisation by taxing imports into the Community and to review sanctions against countries that do not pay their membership dues.

Two years ago ECOWAS decided to try and deregulate trade among its members. But so far little progress has been made to allow the free movement of people, capital and goods between the 16 nations.

Other programmes to try and integrate the region have also hit problems and decisions taken at Community level are more often than not left unapplied at national level.

One concrete decision which was taken at the 13th annual summit in May 1990 in Banjul, Gambia, has also, so far, failed to yield results and is likely to be discussed by the heads of state although it is not specifically on the provisional agenda.

At the 1990 meeting the heads of state decided to try and solve the Liberian conflict. The organisation founded the ECOWAS Monitoring Group, known as ECOMOG, a peacekeeping force made up largely of Nigerians.

Although it made some progress, it did not manage to convince rebel leader Charles Taylor to listen to reason. His National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) controls the wealthiest parts of Liberia—the diamond and iron ore mines together with the port of Buchanan from which he exports these goods and pockets the profits for the NPFL.

The interim president of Liberia, Amos Sawyer, said he would ask for "global sanctions" against Taylor if the NPFL continued to oppose being disarmed.

Official on Economic Integration*AB2707105592 Dakar PANA in English 0954 GMT
27 Jul 92*

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Dakar, 27 July (PANA)—Leaders and ordinary people in the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] must be persuaded to accept the necessity to create one economic space", the executive secretary of the ECOWAS, Abass Bundu, has said.

I wouldn't go for federation, I wouldn't go for any form of political cohesion at this point," Bundu told PANA in Dakar on Sunday [26 July], ahead of the 15th summit of heads of state and government of the sub-regional body which opens in the Senegalese capital on Monday.

He said decades of statehood had made it difficult for states to totally surrender sovereignty for a larger federation, adding, but I believe eventually we will get there." For the moment, he said, ECOWAS leaders need to demonstrate the virtues of economic integration before demonstrating the need for political cohesion".

The executive secretary said ECOWAS citizens had shown their desire to cross borders without harassment" by security and customs officials in one way or the other and that the leaders would be bound to pay attention if people agitated for greater cohesion.

With the evolving democratic culture within the Community, Bundu said, such action might spur the leaders into responding to public demands and let the leaders know that the public is well ahead of them.

Bundu agreed that the absence of supra-nationality, in terms of giving requisite powers to the decision-making organs to take decisions that are binding, not only on the institutions but on the member states, had been a drawback, in terms of accelerating the realisation of the objectives for which the organisation was set up.

But he rejected the view that African leaders resisted political unity out of selfishness, out of personal and egoistic power interests".

Rather, he said, the European colonial powers were to blame, explaining that while they were conveying power to a supranational entity (EEC), under the Treaty of Rome, they told Africans to accept national sovereignty and independence.

Cameroon

Opposition Leader Confirms Arrest of Supporters

AB2707064592 Libreville Africa No 1 in French
0730 GMT 21 Jul 92

[Text] Cameroon—In our news broadcast yesterday, we announced the reported arrest of about 100 supporters of the National Union for Democracy and Progress [UNPD] in the far north of the country. This morning, the report was confirmed by party Chairman Bello Bouba Maigari, who was contacted a short while ago by Raphael Mbadinga.

[Begin Maigari recording] The government seems to have reverted to certain practices which had not been seen for some months now; namely, the persecution of opposition party supporters. I state this because party activists, especially those belonging to my party, have, for some days now, been subjected to persecution, notably in the north.

Incidents in Gouzoudou village in Mayo-Sava Region, which started at a wedding ceremony, served as a pretext for the government to arrest and detain about 100 of our activists, whereas there was neither violence nor anything else. This action was taken simply because almost 100 percent of the villagers belong to the opposition and to the UNDP in particular. [end recording]

Chad

Minister Resigns; Yodoyman 'Expelled' From ANDD

AB2607102592 Ndjamenan Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 0530 GMT 26 Jul 92

[Text] The news here this Sunday morning is the resignation of Civil Service and Labor Minister Nabia Ndali, which was announced on 25 July. This was confirmed last night by Prime Minister Joseph Yodoyman. [passage indistinct]

[Paris AFP in English carries the following Ndjamenan-dated report at 2251 GMT on 25 July: "Chad's Prime Minister Joseph Yodoyman has been expelled from his own party, the National Alliance for Democracy and Development (ANDD), while public service and labour minister, Nabia Ndali, Saturday announced his resignation. The ANDD said it had taken its decision because Yodoyman's 'behavior is contemptuous and abusive, constituting high treason and a pernicious will to destroy' the party. It noted in particular his 'drift towards authoritarianism, even totalitarianism,' since his press conference of July 15, during which he announced a series of austerity measures aimed at redressing the poor, central African nation's finances. Among these measures were plans to cut salaries and raise taxes.

["Ndali, who announced he was resigning Saturday, had been called to quit on July 18 by the Chad trade union asked Ndali, whom he represented in the government. [sentence as received] The union called for a three-day public service strike to begin Monday to protest the government's 'anti-social measures' and the fact the government still owes several months back-pay to public servants. The union called for a similar strike last Monday which was not followed."]

Further on Strike Call

AB2707104292 Libreville Africa No 1 in French
0730 GMT 27 Jul 92

[Text] We start this morning's news with Chad, where the Chadian Trade Union Federation has gone on the offensive again. Raphael Badinga, in reaction to the government's austerity measures, this union is calling for a general civil service strike starting today.

[Badinga] Yes, the pressure continues, and this time for three days. If this strike order is followed from this morning until 29 July, then hospitals, post offices, public works offices, ministries, media houses, and others will be completely paralyzed. Why has the union toughened its stand, when this showdown may lead the country to an unprecedented economic paralysis?

The union's answer to this question is that the government must at all costs stop reducing government workers' salaries and increasing taxes. The union does not understand why it is only government workers who have to continue tightening their belts while the state's lifestyle has not changed despite repeated warnings from unions, associations, and opposition political parties. Furthermore, the Chadian unionists are condemning the fact that the government is still, and I quote, so large when the people want Prime Minister Joseph Yodoyman's cabinet to be reduced to just 14 members.

We cannot say whether it is the government or the strikers who will emerge the winner in this showdown, but we do know that the indefinite strike order which was launched last week by the labor union was not widely followed in Ndjamenan and in the interior of the country. Nonetheless, it is very likely that some heads will roll. Prime Minister Yodoyman has himself been expelled from his own political party, the [National] Alliance for Democracy and Development, and the sole representative of the labor union in his government, Nabia Ndali, has resigned from his post as civil service minister.

Congo

Election Results Show UPADS Leading

AB2407133092 Brazzaville Radio Nationale
Congolaise Network in French 0700 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Text] It is now official: Legislative elections results have been out since last night. Yesterday, they were

announced live on Congolese television by Interior and Decentralization Minister Alphonse Nzoungou. At the end of the second round the results are as follows:

Pan-African Union for Social Democracy [UPADS], 39 seats; Congolese Movement for Democracy and Integral Development [MCDDI], 29 seats; Congolese Labor Party [PCT], 18 seats; Rally for Democracy and Social Progress, nine seats; Rally for Democracy and Development, five seats; Union of Social Democrats, three seats; and Union for Social Progress and Democracy, two seats.

The following parties won a total of 11 seats: [word indistinct], Party for Reconstruction and Development of Congo, MARS [expansion unknown], National Convention for Democracy and Development, SDD [expansion unknown], SDS [expansion unknown], AADA [Autonomous Authority for Alternative Development], UDT [expansion unknown], RNDP [National Rally for Democracy and Progress], and the National Union for Democracy and Progress. The independent candidates, on their part, won six seats at the National Assembly.

Note, however that these results will only be complete after we have added those of the two Likouala constituencies, which have not shown any sign of life yet. According to the minister, yesterday some candidates tied again and it will therefore be necessary to go through the electoral records again.

For the time being, it is now clear that we have the same parties leading and that the rules of the game were respected during both the first and second rounds. Professor Pascal Lissouba's UPADS is leading, followed by Bernard Kolelas' MCDDI, and Denis Sassou-Nguesso's PCT. As you can see, none of the parties obtained a majority vote, which means that alliances will have to be formed to be able to lay claim to a majority at the National Assembly.

Rwanda

RPF Affirms Truce, Claims Government Violations

EA2407215192 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura
in Kinyarwanda to Rwanda 1730 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Statement issued by the Rwandan Patriotic Front on 24 July; place not given]

[Text] Rwandan men and women and dear listeners to Radio Muhabura, [words indistinct] the Arusha talks between the Rwanda Government representatives and the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] invincible fighters [words indistinct] a message of thanks which stated that they were happy with the Arusha talks, the government forces are instead continuing to attack RPF (?positions). Having done so, the commander of the country's forces goes on the air on Radio Rwanda [words indistinct] with crocodile tears claiming that we have attacked them and violated the Arusha agreement. This lie of theirs is

devoid of any foundation, for even today, 24 July, at 0630 government forces attacked our offices at [word indistinct]. At 0815 this morning the RPF forces positioned at (Gishome) were also attacked. Our offices at (Tahura) hill in Bwesige commune, which borders the Ngarama subprefecture, were also attacked. [passage indistinct] When the war was supposed to end on 19 July, James Gasana, the minister of defense, and [name indistinct] Deogratias, the commander in chief of the Rwandan Armed Forces, ordered the forces to attack. They wanted to recapture the areas on 22 July, and the government forces attacked our forces at [word indistinct]. They also attacked our (?office) near the (Murambo) bridge which links Muvumba to Ngarama. [passage indistinct]

The RPF takes this opportunity to reassure all Rwandans that it supports the Arusha agreement containing the voluntary truce which was to have been implemented on 19 July at midnight as well as the 31 July 1992 cease-fire.

Zaire

Mobutu Addresses National Conference Delegation

LD2407221492 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television
Network in French 1900 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Address by President Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko to delegates of the sovereign national conference in Nsele on 23 July—recorded]

[Text] Monsignor Monsengwo Pasinya, the chairman of the sovereign national conference, my dear compatriot members of the sovereign national conference: I welcome each and everyone to Nsele city for an exchange of views. The aim of this meeting is to search for a consensus on the various points debated at the national conference, particularly on the transition, the fundamental options of the constitution of the Third Republic, and the forthcoming election dates which will lead the Zairean people to the establishment of real democratic institutions in our country. This is not—as you may think—about shifting the context of the national conference, but rather to search for the means to guarantee this national forum the best possible results in the higher interests of the entire nation. In fact, as far as I am concerned, I think I am here before a new political scene when, like those in 1960 in Brussels, in 1961 in Lovanium, and in 1964 in Lulwabu, we meet to look for solutions for the current political crisis, which will lead us to a better form of government of our people. After two years of transition and a year of national conference, it is appropriate to avoid impasses of such a nature to compromise the positive results of this forum in which everybody has invested his hopes for a better future. It is also about gaining time because our national forum would have cost us many sacrifices. The solutions to our problems depend on the goodwill of each and everyone.

In fact, the best results will not be those that will consecrate the victory of one political group over another but those of the higher interests of the nation.

The transition should be continued without passion in such a way to make it a period of preparation and progressive introduction to a real democratic regime. The foreign partners will renew their trust in us during this period only if they find us capable of offering on our territory sufficient conditions for a fruitful cooperation. Without this, they will continue to observe us and no external help will be possible for the stabilization and the recovery of our currently devastated national economy. It is only then that it will be possible for us to devote ourselves to the development of our country in all sectors be they political, economic, social, cultural, or even spiritual.

Monsignor, chairman of the sovereign national conference, my dear compatriots and members of the sovereign national conference, many times I had to say publicly

what I expected from the national conference, particularly during my latest interviews and my message to the nation celebrating 30 June.

Up until now, my attitude has been to observe the evolution of your work. I intervened each time the situation got out of hand or when there were attempts at deviation from the legal documents creating, organizing, and convening the national conference. It is in this frame of mind while residing in the country's hinterland, that I have been waiting for the conclusion of your work to express my reaction. But at the insistent demand of monsignor the chairman of the bureau of the national conference, I agreed to come back to Kinshasa at the moment. I thank monsignor the chairman for his endeavor to use all means to reach a large consensus on all the issues examined by the national conference, particularly that relating to the transition period. In doing so, my concern as head of state is to forestall for our people any confusion likely to worsen the economic and social situation which is already very critical. I thus put myself at your disposal to hear your different points of view on this issue. I thank you.

Kenya

Democratic Party Activist Charged With Sedition

EA2407211692 Nairobi KNA in English 1205 GMT
24 Jul 92

[Text] Nairobi, 24th July (KNA)—Democratic Party of Kenya activist Paul Kiptoo [arap] Koech was today charged with sedition before the chief magistrate Babu Achieng.

When the case came up for mention today Senior State Counsel Horace Okumu for the prosecution told the court that he wishes to substitute the previous charge, whereby the accused had been charged with conduct likely to cause a breach of peace. The prosecutor then produced the new charge sheet and the consent to prosecute dated 16th July and signed by the attorney general Amos Wako. The accused denied the charge and his bond of 500,000 Kenyan shillings with one surety was extended until 29th October, when the case will be heard. The particulars of the charge were that on 23rd May this year at Rungu Stadium, Nyeri, with a seditious intention he uttered words to the effect that sections of the Kalenjin community had taken an oath known as mumiat binding themselves to instigate and perpetuate clashes with other ethnic communities resident in Rift Valley, which words and utterances were calculated to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different sections of clashes [as received] of the population of Kenya, claimed the charge. The accused is represented by Nairobi advocate Dr John Khaminwa.

Somalia

SLA Condemns Kenyan Aid to Barre 'Remnants'

EA2407222592 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu
in Somali 1700 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Text] A spokesman from the United Somali Congress [USC], Somali Patriotic Movement [SPM], Southern Somali National Movement [SSNM], and Somali Democratic Movement [SDM] says the Kenya Government has continued giving Siad Barre's remnants in Kenya moral and material support. It is giving the remnants full military assistance so that the bloodsucker Siad Barre, who is now in Nigeria, can be restored to power. It is an undeniable fact that the Kenyan Government armed Siad Barre's remnants with the weapons they brought back with them to Kenya and these people are making cross-border attacks with the aim of causing instability. This is opposed to the UN efforts to restore peace in Somalia.

The USC, the SPM, the SDM, and the SSNM appeal to the Kenyan people and opposition parties to tell the arap Moi government to stop its assistance to Siad Barre's remnants. The Somali justice fighters and people respect good-neighborliness and international and regional laws and under no circumstances will it possible for the Somali people to harm their brother Kenyan people. The arap Moi government has violated UN Security Council Resolution 733 which stipulated that [words indistinct]

anything that could exacerbate the situation in Somalia. Besides giving assistance to the Siad Barre remnants, the arap Moi government has contributed greatly to continuing the civil war in Somalia.

The arap Moi government allowed arms and counterfeit currency to pass through Kenya, as proven by the capture of this currency at Nairobi's Jomo Kenyatta Airport on 1 June—some of the currency is still at the airport.

What is worth mentioning, the spokesman said, is that on 23 July the Kenyan Government held up 47 members of the 50-strong UN peacekeeping force meant to monitor a cease-fire agreement in Mogadishu. This was clear evidence that the arap Moi government is not happy with any steps that could bring about well-being and peace in Somalia. The spokesman said: We would like to remind arap Moi that he cannot succeed with his injustices and that he should remember Idi Amin, Mengistu Haile Mariam, and dictator Siad Barre.

Victory to the justice-fighters, God willing, the spokesman of the Somali Liberation Army [SLA] concluded.

Further Criticism of Moi

EA2607213592 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu
in Somali 1710 GMT 26 Jul 92

[Text] The purpose of founding the OAU was to promote cooperation to attain diversified development and for African countries to resolve their internal conflicts peacefully through understanding. The OAU objectives are based on the general well-being of Africa and the African [word indistinct] are busy working to preserve the organization's existence and functions.

The Somali people who love good neighborliness and have faith in the OAU's efforts to bring the general aspirations for which it was founded to realization are telling it that Daniel arap Moi, the Kenyan president, is interfering in Somalia's internal affairs. The actions Moi are taking against Somalia are violations of OAU, UN, regional, and international laws. Moi, one of the last remaining dictators on the African continent and particularly in the Horn of Africa, having watched the peoples of the region begin to revolt against injustice [words indistinct], embarked on stirring up conflict in the neighboring countries, of which Somalia is one.

The organizations fighting for justice while representing their people call for good neighborliness and the resolution of problems through negotiations in accordance with OAU and UN laws. What is most surprising is that President Moi has made a habit of telling shameless lies about the situation in the Horn of Africa and even about problems in his country. The Kenyan people are having to undergo hardships they have never experienced before. His aimless and empty political talk has devastated the Kenyan people's economy, politics, and security. Moi has [words indistinct] the OAU Charter, which says the organization must fight anyone who is a colonialist. Moi and his parliament are trying to restore

bloodsucker Siad Barre, who has committed crimes against the Somali people and their religion. The move to bring Siad back to Somalia has been prepared by Siad's henchmen and Moi and his bootlickers who call themselves Somalis.

This state of affairs is prejudicial to Somalia's sovereignty. Moi has made a habit of making Kenya a center for the hatching of regional destabilization plots. The defeated Siad remnants are roaming about Kenya armed with the weapons with which they fled. Carrying their weapons, they also roam the refugee camps, thus imperiling the work of the relief agencies, and committing the looting for which they are notorious.

Earlier, the Somali Liberation Army, which saved the Somali people from the bloodsucker Siad, appealed to Moi to extradite Siad and his remnants together with the public assets they had taken with them to Kenya and to stop interfering in the internal affairs of the fraternal Somali people. However, he turned a deaf ear to this appeal and never responded. [passage indistinct].

The two fraternal peoples know that he is following Siad's path. The Somali people appeal to the OAU and leaders of democratic governments to call on President Moi to desist from committing misdeeds and to respect the fight for justice in Somalia and good relations between Somalia and Kenya. The Somali people also appeal to Ibrahim Babangida, the president of Nigeria, to hand over the criminal Siad to them or cease [word indistinct].

SLA Spokesman Denies Fighting in Kismaayo

EA2407213192 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu
in Somali 1815 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Excerpts] A spokesman for the Somali Liberation Army [SLA], which is made up of the four allied groups—the United Somali Congress, Somali Patriotic Movement, Southern Somali National Movement and Somali Democratic Movement—has termed as fabricated the report by the self-styled Manifesto Group that SLA forces attacked Jowhar district of Shabeellaha Dhexe. The spokesman went on to say that the self-styled group had itself created disturbances in the region while the counterfeit currency was being imposed on the people, at which time the group had killed many people, prompting confrontations. [passage omitted] The spokesman also described as cheap and concocted the allegations disseminated by the self-styled Manifesto Group that fighting had taken place in Baydhabo and Kismaayo. These were conspiracies the group was hatching among the great Somali community.

In conclusion, the spokesman of the four organizations making up the SLA appealed to the justice fighters and all Somalis not to give credence to the false allegations emanating from the self-appointed group.

Front Says Islamic Group Expelled From Port

AB2507072592 London BBC World Service
in English 1705 GMT 23 Jul 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Somali Salvation Democratic Front, SSDF, that controls a region in northeastern Somalia has had quite a fight on its hands recently with a group of Muslim fundamentalists known as the Islamic brotherhood. At one time, the armed brothers over took the Port of Boosaaso. The SSDF retook the city, but our last report said there was still a problem wrangling rebels out of the port area of the town. Well, SSDF spokesman Mohamed Abshir is passing through London and Robin White asked him what the latest was from Boosaaso. Has SSDF the kicked out the brotherhood?

[Begin recording] [Abshir] Yes, they have been kicked out of Boosaaso altogether. Their actual base was in (Goh), 20 km out of Boosaaso, but they were physically in control of Boosaaso because they were guarding the Boosaaso Port and the airport and they were running the hospital, so they were very strong in Boosaaso.

[White] Have you killed them all or expelled them all or what happened?

[Abshir] No, we have not killed them and we did not want to kill them and that is not really the issue. They have been overpowered by force. Unfortunately, there was a lot of casualties—deaths and wounded—among the fundamentalists, among the SSDF forces, and among the general public.

[White] You say a lot of people were killed. How many, exactly? Do you know?

[Abshir] We believe on both sides the death toll was over 600 and the wounded was as much.

[White] What about damage to the port? Was the port damaged and other things damaged?

[Abshir] No, fortunately not. The port was not damaged, the airport was not damaged, electricity stations were not damaged because the SSDF took very careful precautions when they were starting the fight against the fundamentalists.

[White] What lessons have you learned from this?

[Abshir] Well, the lessons really that have been learned from that is that it does not follow that the presumed enemy comes from another clan or from another region, but that the difference of opinions and ideas and religious ideologies or whatever can cause or present similar threat and danger within a community, within a region.

[White] Presuming that the SSDF has nothing against Islamists, just this particular group, is it that that's the problem?

[Abshir] Well, Robin, really the issue is not Islam. Somalia, as you know, is an Islamic nation. The Somali people are all Muslims and the region is fundamentally a very Islamic region. But there is a difference between the traditional Islamic leadership in Somalia and in that region particularly and these young men who came with a new Islamic ideology: brotherhood, FI, or (Ikhad) Islam. These are people whose main aim and target was really to take power.

[White] What is the matter with being power-hungry? Why should they not be the government in your area? Why not?

[Abshir] I think someone is referred to as power hungry when...[end recording]

Tanzania

World Urged To Promote South African Democracy

EA2607165592 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
External Service in English 0400 GMT 26 Jul 92

[From the press review]

[Text] SUNDAY NEWS opinion says the just ended five-day conference on peace and security in southern Africa organized by the Dar es Salaam-based Center for Foreign Relations has added yet another voice on the pressing need to end the South African political conflict in a peaceful manner. The paper observes that several other individuals and institutions the world over have also raised concern on the state of violence and lawlessness in the regime, especially in the black townships.

The SUNDAY NEWS goes on: What is more disturbing is that while the whole world today talks of true democracy, the Pretoria rulers have been given freedom and mandate to behave the way they want. The paper asks: Where are those big powers who are vocal about democracy in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and other parts of the world? Why are they not taking corrective action? Is it a question of blood thicker than water? The SUNDAY NEWS says if those and several others are not fully answered, South Africans will continue to bathe in human blood [words indistinct].

Uganda

Minister Addresses UN Session on South Africa

EA2507151592 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 0400 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Excerpt] The Ugandan Ministry of Foreign Affairs has released the full text of the speech made by the second deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere, at last weekend's emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council on the issue of violence in South Africa.

In his address to the Council, Mr. Ssemogerere said it is unacceptable for the South African Government to claim or pretend that it is unaware of the root causes of the persisting political violence in the republic, is uninvolved in its perpetuation, or unable to curb it.

The South African Government, he declared, cannot be exonerated from involvement in the political violence and the consequent stall in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa process. He said the Pretoria regime must muster the courage to live up to its responsibilities and to the expectations of the international community by guaranteeing security of life and property of all people in South Africa, regardless of race, color, or political affiliation.

It is inexplicable, he declared, that the South African Government, with all its power, has not been able to do so over a long period, resulting in the death of more than 11,000 people over the last five years. He said the prevailing political violence in South Africa is not conducive for confidence-building among the people of South Africa, between South Africa and the neighboring Frontline States, as well as between South Africa and the rest of Africa. He said this violence has negative effects on regional and international peace and security.

Unless the prevailing political violence inside South Africa is stopped, he added, there is a danger of it spilling over to the rest of the region. He urged the Council to demand of the South African Government immediate measures to investigate all incidents of violence and prosecute promptly all those involved, including members of its security apparatus.

Mr. Ssemogerere stressed that it is only then that new confidence can be built within the oppressed people in South Africa and in Africa in general. The regime must implement fully and faithfully, he went on, all the provisions of the National Peace Accord, including agreements regarding single-sex hostels, prohibition of carriage of dangerous weapons in public, demobilization of foreign mercenary units in the South African Police and Defense Forces and effective protection of public transport users. It is only then that an atmosphere conducive to resumption of peaceful negotiation, he maintained, can be said to be in place. [passage omitted]

Government Not To Announce New Initiatives

*MB2507171492 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1600 GMT 25 Jul 92*

[Text] The government has come up with new initiatives to resume the negotiation process, but has decided not to go public with the proposals.

This follows a cabinet bush summit in the Transvaal this week during which the government reviewed the impasse in negotiations. Our political news staff reports that the government seems to want to take a new approach with its latest proposals. It was felt a public debate with the ANC [African National Congress] served no purpose, and the cabinet should try to communicate the new initiatives bilaterally or multi-laterally.

State President F.W. de Klerk said in Pretoria that the government had given attention to the most important differences between various parties in approaches to constitutional issues and to the negotiation process. Mr. de Klerk said the government was convinced the current impasse could be resolved through negotiations. Mr. de Klerk said the need to have an election for a transitional government of national unity, and for a constitution-making body to be established, was becoming more urgent. However, these could only follow the resumption of negotiations. Mr. de Klerk said the government was ready, able and willing to move forward immediately.

The president added that considerable attention had been devoted at the cabinet summit to the state of the economy, and to the negative effects the continuing violence and the threatened mass action will have on it. He said the government was deeply concerned about the delaying effect the present negative economic factors had on the constitutional process.

Although there are important differences between the government and the ANC, the government feels there are enough points of agreement between the two for them to break the current deadlock in negotiations. Government sources said this conclusion had been reached at the bush summit. They said it had been felt that the main constitutional differences between the ANC and the government were that the ANC laid emphasis on a constitution-making body, while the government emphasized that changes had to take place within the framework of a constitution.

The government's view appears to be that if it had other differences with the ANC, apart from those on the issue of mass action, these needed attention.

Ministers Announce Measures on Illegal Weapons

*MB2607174192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1706 GMT 26 Jul 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by SA Communication Service: "Joint Press Statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr H J Coetsee MP, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr H J Kriel MP"]

[Text] The government is intensely concerned about the outbreaks of violence and intimidation currently afflicting certain communities. The situation is worsened by the availability and use of illegal fire-arms. This year up to the end of May, at least 2,438 persons, including at least 125 members of the South African Police, have been killed with fire-arms.

In this regard, the state president, Mr F W de Klerk, on 23 April 1992 announced a continuous and comprehensive initiative by the government. Certain aspects of this initiative culminated in the Criminal Law Second Amendment Act, 1992 (act 126 of 1992).

This act inter alia makes provision for:

- further drastic measures in respect of the illegal possession and wrongful use of weaponry (including explosive devices);
- minimum sentences of 5 years imprisonment (with a maximum of 25 years) in cases where such weaponry is employed in the commission of offences;
- detention of persons for questioning in respect of the possession of certain weaponry.

This act will commence on 31 July 1992. A notice in this regard will soon appear in the government gazette.

The measures contained in this act have serious implications. It is in addition imperative to terminate the illegal possession and use of weaponry, explosive devices, fire-arms and ammunition by individuals and organizations as soon as possible.

A conditional indemnity from prosecution for the illegal possession of weaponry, fire-arms, explosive devices and ammunition will consequently be granted with immediate effect, lasting until 31 July 1992.

The indemnity is subject to the following conditions:

- persons illegally in possession of weaponry, explosive devices, fire-arms or ammunition or having such items under their control, must voluntarily and on their own initiative hand in or disclose such items before 31 July 1992.
- such items must be handed in or disclosed to a police officer at a police station or a collection point which will be established especially for this purpose by the South African Police. (a statement will be issued later by the commissioner of police in this respect.)
- in appropriate cases these persons will be afforded the opportunity to apply for a licence to a fire-arms in the normal way before 31 July 1992. Note: licences cannot be issued in respect of automatic arms or weaponry.
- indemnity from prosecution is also applicable in respect of explosives.

The security forces will in the meantime continue with their unceasing attempts to uncover arms caches, weaponry, fire-arms, ammunition and explosives in illegal possession or under illegal control. Those found in illegal possession of weaponry, firearms, ammunition and explosives not in accordance with the prescriptions in respect of the conditions of indemnity, will still be liable to prosecution and will not be entitled to indemnity.

Anyone handing in any of the weapons listed below at the above mentioned collection points within the prescribed period, will be compensated by the South African Police as follows:

- a cash reward of R[Rand]400 per weapon for automatic weapons, for instance AK-47 rifles.
- a cash reward of R200 per weapon for other weapons if the weapon is surrendered and no licence for the legal possession thereof is issued.
- a reward, which will be determined by the commissioner of the South African Police, in the case of the pointing out of explosives, landmines, handgrenades, and other explosive devices. As far as this category of objects is concerned, we appeal to the public not to handle them or to bring them to a police station or a collection point, but only to report their location to the police.

The government trusts that these measures will contribute to combatting public violence, intimidation and crime. These measures, in addition to other initiatives, are proof of the government's determination to clamp down on criminals and those involved in violence. The government calls on anyone in illegal possession of weaponry, explosive devices, fire-arms, ammunition and explosives to make use of this concession. Issued by the Ministries of Justice and of Law and Order Pretoria 26 July 1992 Inquiries: Ministry of Justice: Warner Krull: tel 012 - 323 8581 fax 012 - 211 708 pager 011 - 339 5674 code 27989 Ministry of Law and Order: Capt Craig Kotze: tel 012 - 323 8880 fax 012 - 322 2559 pager 011 - 339 5674 code 47422

ANC Denies 'New Conditions' for Resuming Talks

MB2407154492 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1500 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] has refuted earlier reports that it has added two new conditions for resuming constitutional talks. Media reports this morning said the organization presented new preconditions to UN special envoy Cyrus Vance at a meeting yesterday. The reported preconditions include the freeing of 400 political prisoners and the scrapping of security laws. The ANC's Gill Marcus denies the organization has made these demands.

[Begin Marcus recording] To call them new preconditions is absurd in the extreme. Those are conditions that

we have said have to be met in order for meaningful negotiations to materialize. You cannot have negotiations (over) prisoners and then actually create the climate of confidence that we require. They are not new preconditions. [end recording]

Top Pathologist Claims Police Killing Prisoners

MB2607113592 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 26 Jul 92 pp 1, 2

[Report by Brian Pottinger: "Cell Deaths: My Agony"]

[Text] South Africa's top medical pathologist, Dr Jonathan Gluckman, has opened his files to the SUNDAY TIMES in a desperate attempt to stop the continuing killing of prisoners in custody of the police.

He decided to "go public" after direct appeals to President De Klerk proved fruitless. The killings have continued unabated and Dr Gluckman has been called on to perform post mortems at a rate, he estimates, of one a week.

Among the files was the case of a man found hanging in his cell who had, it turned out on medical examination, died of a blow on the head before he was strung up.

"I can't stand it any longer," said Dr Gluckman, best known for having given evidence for Steve Biko's family at the inquest after the activist's death in 1977.

The last straw was the death last week of a 19-year-old Sebokeng boy, whose body was found in the veld 12 hours after he was arrested. According to Dr Gluckman, his injuries were consistent with eyewitness evidence that he had been brutally beaten by the police.

"This is a 19-year-old boy. Not charged with an offence. Tortured, ill-treated and killed. He could have been a son of mine", said Dr Gluckman.

"I get speechless. I get sick at heart about the whole affair. It goes on and on and on. I don't know how to stop it. I don't think the government knows how to stop it."

In response to Dr Gluckman's claims, Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel disclosed yesterday that he had ordered a report on every incident of death in detention over the past two years. The reports would be available in 14 days and he would then respond in full to Dr Gluckman.

In the pathologist's offices in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, are over 200 files of post mortems he has performed on people who died in custody.

"Ninety percent of the people in these files, I am convinced, were killed by the police" he said.

"I have constant evidence of police handling people in a vicious manner. My impression is that they are totally out of control. They do what they like."

He said he had many dealings with senior police and ministers and had come to the conclusion that they really did not know what was happening.

Dr Gluckman called for a commission of inquiry into deaths in detention and urged the government to ensure that all such deaths were investigated at an open inquest.

He showed the SUNDAY TIMES five cases, randomly selected from his files, which he had presented to cabinet ministers and police. All five victims, he said, had been killed in police custody.

—Case One: Columbus Magobo was arrested at home by Vanderbijlpark police on July 23 in perfect health. Family members were told later that day by Sebokeng police that he had been killed by Vanderbijlpark police. The post mortem showed death was consistent with suffocation;

—Case Two: Armstrong Yesake died on August 22 last year of a massive brain hemorrhage. He was found hanging in a cell at Modder Bee Prison, but Dr Gluckman believes he was dead before being hanged;

—Case Three: David Mokgalaka, 21, died on November 1 last year from a gunshot wound through the skull and chest. Witnesses claimed seeing him being beaten at Louis Trichardt police station.

—Case Four: Duke Senne of Rockville died on January 15 this year in what Dr Gluckman concluded was a "savage assault". Witnesses claimed he and his brother had been assaulted at the Moroka police station;

—Case Five: Joseph Koetz, 58, was arrested on a criminal charge in Hertzogville, near Bloemfontein, on January 17. He died the next day in custody.

Dr Gluckman said he had considered going public about six months ago.

There had not been a specific incident, just an accumulation of events. He had contacted the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, to express his concern.

"I told him that this was not culpable homicide; this was murder, straightforward murder by the police. I gave him the particulars. He thanked me very much and that was the last I heard from him" said Dr Gluckman.

He wrote to President De Klerk on November 20 to draw attention to a matter of "the utmost gravity". He followed it up with a letter in which he spoke of "an increasing sense of frustration and a growing sense of horror by what is being committed by the lower echelons of the police in our country".

He said not a week passed without an attorney, usually a black country one, asking him to do a post mortem on a person who had died in detention.

In February this year Dr Gluckman met Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel and Minister of Correctional Services Adriaan Vlok. He presented the five randomly selected case studies. The ministers were "shocked", said Dr Gluckman, but nothing came of it.

On May 25 he again wrote to President De Klerk "in a mood of utter despair", appealing for ordinary people to be protected against "barbarism, particularly in the hands of the state's servants".

On June 25 President De Klerk wrote back saying he would communicate with Dr Gluckman "in due course".

The trigger for Dr Gluckman's decision to go public, however, was the death of 19-year-old Simon Mthimkulu who, according to witnesses, was arrested by the police with friends in Sebokeng at 4pm on July 14.

Affidavits in the hands of human rights lawyers allege Mr Mthimkulu was hit on his back, instructed to put his fingers on a seat where they were hit about four times with a rifle butt, and taken to a toilet at the police station where he was forced to squat while being kicked and punched.

A policeman then allegedly picked up a huge rock and threw it several times at the man's rib-cage.

The post mortem was performed this week and Dr Gluckman said his findings were entirely consistent with the injuries described by the witnesses.

President De Klerk was not available for comment yesterday but Mr Kriel said he shared Dr Gluckman's concern about deaths in detention. He and Mr De Klerk had discussed the matter and he had held discussions with Dr Gluckman.

He had gone beyond only the cases raised and had ordered an investigation into all incidents of death in detention over the last two years.

Minister Responds

MB2607180192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1737 GMT 26 Jul 92

[Text] Pretoria July 26 SAPA—Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel on Sunday night mooted two possibilities to deal with allegations that members of the SA Police deliberately murdered people in detention.

The minister was responding to Dr Jonathan Gluckman who alleged in a Sunday newspaper that policemen were responsible for murdering a host of prisoners.

In a statement in Pretoria, Minister Kriel said a decision would be made this week on whether a judicial commission of inquiry should be set up or whether attorneys-general concerned with the inquests should again take up the matter with a view to having a judge appointed to lead the proceedings. Where necessary, a special team of detectives would be made available to assist the attorneys-general.

"The conclusion that everyone who dies in police custody, died as a result of police actions, is clearly not correct. It is of the greatest importance for the SA Police that the truth concerning the death of detainees be established," said Mr Kriel.

He added that last week he called a special general staff meeting to be held on Monday, at which the matter and other issues would be discussed.

"The government regards these allegations in a very serious light and will do everything possible to deal with the issue properly," said the minister.

ANC Wants Independent Inquiry

*MB2707090592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0826 GMT 27 Jul 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress: "ANC Press Statement on Deaths in Detention"]

[Text] The anguished cry from Dr Jonathan Gluckman that "tragic case after tragic case goes on and on" should reverberate throughout South Africa. That approximately one person a week dies in detention is horrific; but that it takes an independent pathologist to bring it to public attention is a reflection of the lack of accountability within the police who are clearly operating above the law.

We welcome Minister Kriel's call for a full report of all deaths in police custody over the past two years. But the police cannot, and should not, investigate themselves. It is imperative that a full, public independent investigation be conducted, and the police officers directly and indirectly involved, as well as their station commanders, be brought to justice.

These revelations confirm the findings of the Wadlington report, and are an indictment of police procedure and lack of accountability. We have a police force that answers to no-one, that sees black South Africans, particularly those who are members of the ANC [African National Congress], as "the enemy", and which operates above the law. This is what must urgently be addressed. The starting point is surely that all security forces be brought under one command structure, with particular attention being paid to internal accountability and the training and upgrading of personnel.

The fact that, as a consequence of his fully documented revelations which were submitted to President de Klerk and the ministers responsible over six months ago, Dr Gluckman received death threats speaks volumes about such lawlessness.

There can be no delay, for every day lost means more lives are at risk. Issued by the Department of Information and Publicity PO Box 61884 Marshalltown 2107 27 July 1992

Rights Commission Comments

*MB2707132892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1129 GMT 27 Jul 92*

[Text] Johannesburg July 27 SAPA—Cell death figures for the last 18 months are nearly as bad as the Soweto revolts of 1976-77, the Human Rights Commission [HRC] has alleged.

The monitoring organisation alleged 29 people had died in detention from January 1990 to June 1992, compared with the deaths of 26 people in 1976-77.

The HRC also alleged a total of 102 people had died since 1963.

In a report on cell deaths, released on Monday, the HRC listed names, dates, places (including the TVBC [Transkei-Bophuthatswana-Venda-Ciskei] states), days held as well as the ages of the alleged victims.

It also noted "official/alleged causes".

Since 1963, 29 people have reportedly hung themselves.

Other alleged causes include:

"haemorrhage after hitting head against desk during interrogation";

"accidental, fell from 10th floor";

"stroke";

"kidney failure";

"slipped on piece of soap";

"alleged assault by policemen";

"shot in forehead at point-blank range".

Law and order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze confirmed on Monday that the minister, Hernus Kriel, was seeking to establish the factual basis for reports on cell deaths, which first broke on Sunday [26 July] when senior forensics pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman spoke to the press.

"We're trying to establish the factual basis for these reports," said Capt Kotze.

"It is grossly unfair and a neglect of the facts to say that all people who die in detention are murdered by police.

"It is of the utmost importance that the facts be established."

The matter was being addressed with the necessary gravity and urgency, said Capt Kotze.

"The minister has committed himself to replying in public as soon as the necessary information is obtained."

Death Threats Received

MB2707105392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0945 GMT 27 Jul 92

[Excerpt] Johannesburg July 27 SAPA—Five death threats had been made against a top Johannesburg forensic pathologist by Monday morning, a day after he went on record to reveal that many police detainees were murdered while in custody.

Besides the anonymous death threats, Dr Jonathan Gluckman said he had also received three threatening calls.

"I have reported the threats to the Hillbrow police for investigation," a seemingly calm Dr Gluckman said on Monday.

In a Sunday report the senior pathologist said he firmly believed the great majority of the 200 police detainees on whom he had performed post-mortems had been violently done to death by "lower level" policemen.

"I want to make it clear that I have no quarrel with President (F. W.) de Klerk, the government as such or even senior police officers and non-commissioned officers," Dr Gluckman stated emphatically.

According to Dr Gluckman it was "the constable in the field" who was responsible for maltreating, torturing or killing detainees.

"The message just does not seem to get through to the lowest levels in the police force."

Dr Gluckman stressed these killings "just have to come to a stop".

His decision to go public on the alleged murders of police detainees was triggered by the death of a 19-year old Sebokeng boy, whose body was discovered in the veld about 12 hours after he had been arrested on July 14.

The pathologist claimed the boy's injuries had been consistent with eyewitness claims that he had been brutally beaten by police.

"It could have been one's own son," Dr Gluckman said afterwards. [passage omitted]

UN Special Envoy Continuing Consultations

Bophuthatswana's Mangope

MB2507105392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0926 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana said on Saturday [25 July] the political crisis in South Africa spelt disaster for the region and called for the resumption of democracy talks effectively halted by the withdrawal of the African National Congress [ANC] last month.

"All parties must be persuaded to return to the process of discussion and negotiation with no threats, no demands, no preconditions," he told United Nations envoy Cyrus Vance who is in South Africa to canvass views on the crisis.

"The brutal fact of the matter is that this subcontinent is on the brink of a disaster..." Mr. Mangope said, and in thinly veiled references accused the ANC seeking to make the country ungovernable.

"The tragedy is that no one...is going to escape the consequences if sanity is not restored."

Mr. Mangope criticised the ANC's mass action campaign which he said would "inevitably lead to an atmosphere of increased violence and a loss of many billions of rand to the economy".

SACP's Hani, Slovo

MB2507122592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1216 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] Johannesburg July 25 SAPA—United Nations special envoy to South Africa Cyrus Vance on Saturday [25 July] held talks with the SA Communist Party [SACP] in Johannesburg. SABC radio news reported. The SACP delegation was led by Chris Hani and Joe Slovo, neither of whom would comment on the nature of the talks. On Saturday afternoon Mr Vance will meet leaders of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

Ciskei's Gqozo

MB2607054192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2207 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] Bisho, Ciskei July 25 SAPA—Ciskeian leader Brig Oupa Gqozo told United Nations envoy to South Africa Cyrus Vance that the African National Congress' [ANC] programme of mass action presupposed dispute. By definition it could not be peaceful, SABC radio news reported him as saying. Brig Gqozo blamed the ANC for 25 acts of violence in the past fortnight alone. These included setting fire to schools, government buildings and public transport. In one case, a policeman had been thrown into a burning bus and in another a policeman was gunned down with AK47s. Brig Gqozo said the peace-loving people of Ciskei disagreed with intimidation.

Transkei's Holomisa

MB2607144192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1344 GMT 26 Jul 92

[Text] Johannesburg July 26 SAPA—Talks on democracy should not resume without the involvement of the international community, Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said on Sunday.

"It is our view that such negotiations should not resume without the involvement of the international community

as permanent observers or arbiters," he told United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance.

Mr Vance is currently on a 10-day visit to South Africa to search for ways to get negotiations back on track.

"The process was undermined by the fact that negotiations were being conducted with a regime that was still in power...The regime is not committed to democracy in the accepted sense," he added.

Gen Holomisa also said that some "serious" political problems needed to be solved before negotiations for a non-racial democratic constitution resumed.

These were:

- "state-sponsored violence;
- "repression and lack of free political activity;
- "the use of mercenary formations in the townships and their disbandment and repatriation to their countries of origin;
- "release of political prisoners, and
- "repeal of security legislation".

The Transkeian leader said that despite agreements between the African National Congress [ANC] and the government, 400 political prisoners were still behind bars.

Gen Holomisa told Mr Vance that state security forces had allegedly used the Inkatha Freedom Party "as cannon fodder" in the internecine violence which had caused the death of at least 6,000 people since ANC President Nelson Mandela was freed from jail two years ago.

"Unless the South African regime clearly demonstrates its bona fides there can be no peace in South Africa....," Gen Holomisa said.

Labor Party, Indian Congress

MB2707144792 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 27 Jul 92

[Excerpt] The Labor Party and the Transvaal Indian Congress have asked the United Nations special envoy in South Africa, Mr. Cyrus Vance, to propose to the UN that an independent monitoring team should be sent to South Africa to monitor the violence in the country. The two parties, both members of the Patriotic Front, held talks with Mr. Vance in Johannesburg this morning. [passage omitted]

Overvaal MP

MB2707143792 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1334 GMT 27 Jul 92

[Text] Pretoria July 27 SAPA—The independent MP for Overvaal, Koos van der Merwe, on Monday told the

United Nations special envoy to South Africa, Cyrus Vance, that the violence in this country would not end unless the existence of various groups was recognised. Mr. van der Merwe said he told Mr. Vance the African National Congress [ANC] was the main cause of the violence, because it wanted to take over political power in South Africa at the expense of other groups. SABC radio news reported that Mr. van der Merwe urged the UN to force the ANC back to the negotiating table and demand that it suspend its mass action campaign. According to Mr. van der Merwe, rightwing violence would increase if the present wave of violence did not end.

Further Report

MB2707143892 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1331 GMT 27 Jul 92

[Text] Johannesburg July 27 SAPA—United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance on Monday [27 July] met two proponents of an Afrikaner nation state, and is scheduled to meet South Africa's most powerful rightwinger, Conservative Party [CP] leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, on Tuesday.

Boerestaat [Afrikaner nation state] guru Dr Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaanse Volkswag [Afrikaner National Guard], advocates an Afrikaner homeland in the north-western Cape. Both he and former CP renegade Koos van der Merwe, who presented his proposals to Mr Vance in a separate meeting on Monday, say the details of the "Boerestaat" can be negotiated.

The CP has consistently said that an Afrikaner nation state is not negotiable, however.

Mr Vance also met Patriotic Front [PF] leaders who were represented at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa], a source close to the UN envoy confirmed.

The PF leaders supported the African National Congress' [ANC] suspension of the multiparty negotiation forum last month.

Asked if Monday's talks were successful, the source said only that proposals had been presented to Mr Vance who, in terms of his brief under UN Security Council Resolution 735, had listened.

"They went well, in that sense," he said.

Meetings with several bodies including Lawyers for Human Rights and the Legal Resources Centre are due to take place later on Monday.

Talks with labour and business organisations are being scheduled for later in the week.

Other organisations which have not been allocated an interview with Mr Vance during his brief visit have been invited to send in statements.

According to the source, there is no plan for Mr Vance to visit Boipatong.

The ANC has said the June 17 massacre in the Vaal Triangle township was the reason why the organisation suspended its participation in Codesa—the breakdown in talks which in turn precipitated Mr Vance's visit to this country.

Hani Reportedly Escapes Assassination Attempt

*MB2407153292 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1500 GMT 24 Jul 92*

[Text] South African Communist Party Secretary General Chris Hani claims security forces tried to assassinate him in Johannesburg this morning. Hani has survived five assassination attempts, the most publicized being the one in Lesotho during his years in exile. Pule Pelatse reports:

[Pelatse] Chris Hani says the recent attempt happened this morning when he was walking down Marshall Street with one of his colleagues. Hani says on passing a shop, two ladies stopped them and told them they were being followed. He says as they were talking, a young man of about 20 years passed them. He says the man started fiddling with something on his body, which the ladies believed was a gun. Hani says they looked at him as he ran away to a car in which, he says, there were two white males in dark glasses. Lawyers for the party have asked the police to confirm or deny whether they know Hani is under surveillance. Police have not been able to comment at this stage.

Interviewed on Incident

*MB2407183592 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 24 Jul 92*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There was apparently a narrow escape today for Chris Hani, the secretary general of the South African Communist Party. An alert shopkeeper foiled an attempt to assassinate him when he saw a black man with a cocked gun following Hani down a central Johannesburg street. When the shopkeeper raised the alarm, the gunman jumped into a car with two white men and sped off. On the line to Johannesburg, Elizabeth Ohene asked Chris Hani if he had been aware that his life was on the line.

[Begin recording] [Hani] Not at all. What happened is that two of us, we had decided to take a walk, and on coming back, we found ourselves, you know, confronted by two ladies who work at a shop who seemed to be concerned about something, and they continued to say to us: You two fellows, you are being followed by a young black man who is armed; and then, they related to us that this young man had just, you know, sneaked into their shop and was adjusting something under his lumber jacket. On being confronted by these ladies, without answering the queries, he walked out and followed us;

and just as they were explaining everything to us and warning us to be careful, this young man quickly passed us.

[Ohene] You mean the young man actually came by right at that time?

[Hani] Yes, but there was a lot of excitement near the shop. In fact, he look very, very worried and nervous, and he crossed immediately the street and went straight to a waiting Cressida which was occupied by two white males wearing dark glasses. Now, they drove away. We had already taken the registration number and we decided to have a verification with the police, and it was found that it was a fake registration number.

[Ohene] Now, did you take a good look, did you have a good look at this black young man?

[Hani] Yes, I did and I would recognize him if I were to see him again. But, of course, you see, he is not somebody I have met before.

[Ohene] So, you have reported this to the police. Do you know what the police are doing?

[Hani] Yes, we have reported this to the police because in addition to this, one has been receiving lots of threatening mail in the past few weeks, where anonymous writers have been saying that I must know that they are watching me and that, because of my radicalism, because of mass action, and because of my so-called responsibility in the breakdown of negotiation, I would be killed, and I must not therefore feel that I have not been warned. I have, sort of, ignored these threats coming from ... [pauses] sort of nut cases and the crazy, of which there are so many in this country. But I have reported to the police.

[Ohene] So, have you now got protection from the police? Have you asked for and have you got protection from the police?

[Hani] Well, we have told the police that we are talking this matter very seriously because in the last few months members of my party, at branch and district levels, have either been assassinated or attempts have been on their lives.

[Ohene] You are ex-head of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation]. It means that you were a military person yourself. You have been armed. Are you armed? Are you protecting yourself?

[Hani] [Laughs] I would not answer that question. But I am ready to defend and protect myself. I am a trained person. I am a soldier and, therefore, I won't allow anybody just to kill me easily with impunity. [laughs] [end recording]

Police Reject Claims

*MB2407162992 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1558 GMT 24 Jul 92*

[Text] Johannesburg July 24 SAPA—Police on Friday rejected claims they were planning to assassinate South African Communist Party [SACP] Secretary-General Chris Hani.

Col Frans Malherbe told a news conference in Johannesburg that Mr Hani had reported nothing to the police and they therefore could not comment further on his allegations.

SACP member Jeremy Cronin said earlier Mr Hani and a friend had been followed by an armed man in downtown Johannesburg on Friday morning.

After the armed man realised Mr Hani and his friend had spotted him, he walked over to a car, spoke to two men, jumped inside, and sped away.

Mr Cronin said it was clear this was an attempt to assassinate "our leadership".

He added they had the make, model and registration number of the car and further details would be available.

ANC Alliance Stages Mass Action Nationwide**Pretoria March Canceled**

*MB2507133792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1244 GMT 25 Jul 92*

[By Ramokoena Matlala]

[Text] Pretoria July 25 SAPA—An intended protest march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria was on Saturday abruptly cancelled after police stopped the procession midway, apparently because protesters did not follow the prescribed route.

The march was part of the mass action campaign organised by the African National Congress/SA Communist Party/Congress of South African Trade Unions [ANC/SACP//COSATU] alliance in demand of, among other things, the installation of an interim government and an end to violence.

Hundreds of supporters of the ANC, the SACP and COSATU were evidently angry when told by their leaders to disperse because the police would not allow them to follow a route of their choice.

The marchers had gone about two blocks when the police realised they were taking the wrong route. Police minibuses raced past them to block the street and a large contingent of police was deployed.

Tension rose when the police brought in a watercannon which stopped about 10 meters from the angry crowd while leaders tried to negotiate with senior officers for the march to go ahead.

When the police refused permission for the march to continue on the wrong route, ANC spokesman for the PWV [Pretoria-Witwatersrand- Vereeniging] region, Ronnie Mamoepe, said another march would be planned for a later date. The crowd cried "no, no, no, we are going to march".

The crowd was calmed by the chairman of the ANC's PWV region, Tokyo Sexwale, who said the march was supposed to follow a prescribed route but "we don't want to follow a route prescribed to us by the authorities".

He said the voteless marchers were protesting against the government and were going to defy any prescription.

After the marchers dispersed Jabu Moleketi, regional secretary of the committee co-ordinating the mass action, told a press briefing the intention had been to march via Church Square to the Union Buildings, following a route of their choice "like other political parties".

Police spokesman Major Ann Mentz later said no incidents had been reported.

Johannesburg Post Office Sit-In

*MB2507142592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1250 GMT 25 Jul 92*

[Text] Johannesburg July 25 SAPA—Police reportedly arrested the general secretary of the postal workers' union and hundreds of other protesters who occupied the main post office in Johannesburg on Saturday.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Wikus Weber said earlier in the day about 300 people had been arrested when negotiations to end the hour-long sit-in at the central Johannesburg Jeppe Post Office failed.

But a spokesman for the protesters said 500 people, including youths, had been arrested after the sit-in by residents of Palm Springs Township, Vaal Triangle.

He said they were dramatising their demands for public telephones, health facilities and schools in the area.

Mlungisi Hlongwane, general secretary of the Post and Telecommunications Workers Association (POTWA), was reportedly among those arrested.

Lt Weber said services at the Jeppe post office were disrupted during the sit-in which started at noon.

"We had given warnings earlier in the week that we were not going to tolerate occupations in government buildings, and the people arrested at the Jeppe post office disrupted the normal functioning of the post office," he said.

Hundreds of African National Congress activists have been arrested in recent weeks in protests linked to the organisation's mass action campaign.

Further Incidents

MB2507145792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1406 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] Johannesburg July 25 SAPA—The thousands of people expected by the African National Congress [ANC] to converge on South African cities on Saturday to take part in "peace and democracy" marches generally failed to turn up.

One march, in Pretoria, was aborted because of a disagreement between the ANC and police over the route to be followed, while marches in Durban and Johannesburg could attract no more than 2,000 people each.

In Cape Town about 5,000 people participated in a "human chain" which circled the city's central business district, and in Port Elizabeth police estimated that about 12,000 to 15,000 people participated in a march, making it the most successful.

The marches, part of the ANC's mass action campaign which the organisation says will bring the government to its knees, proceeded without incidents although there was a tense stand-off in Durban between ANC supporters and armed Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] supporters.

The IFP supporters, numbering about 200 and armed with spears and sticks, arrived at the start of the ANC march and prevented the marchers from taking their planned route through the city centre.

The IFP supporters had been angered by a planned mock trial in which ANC supporters said they would "sentence" IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and State President F W de Klerk.

Heavily armed police averted a clash by forming a barrier between the two groups. Negotiations then took place and, after assurances by the ANC that the planned mock trial and flag burning had been called off, the IFP supporters reluctantly dispersed.

A senior policeman said afterwards police got wind of plans by IFP supporters to converge on the city centre and had turned hundreds away from trains and had refused others entry to the city.

The ANC claimed many supporters had been prevented by IFP members from boarding trains, and criticised police for failing to disarm the IFP supporters.

In Pretoria a march was abruptly cancelled after police realised the marchers were taking the wrong route to the Union Buildings. A water cannon was deployed about 10 meters in front of the marchers while police and ANC leaders discussed the route.

The police, however, refused to let the marchers take the route of their choice—via Church Square to the Union Buildings—and the ANC said it would not be prescribed to by the authorities.

ANC leaders then asked the angry marchers to disperse, saying another march would be held later.

The Cape Town human chain and subsequent march to the city hall was without incident although two people, one a ticket inspector, were slightly injured during a scuffle on a train near the city.

Police said some people, apparently on their way to the march, could not produce train tickets and refused to get off the trains when told to. They were arrested.

In Johannesburg, police said they arrested 300 ANC supporters at the city's main post office after a sit-in. The group occupied the building on Saturday morning and refused to leave when ordered to do so by police.

Some shops closed down for the duration of the marches but owners said it did not affect their business significantly. Traffic flow was necessarily disrupted, but because of the precautions taken for the expected high number of marchers, officials generally had an easy time redirecting traffic.

Marchers Fail To Show

MB2607113692 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 26 Jul 92 p 5

[Report by Mark Stansfield: "Marchers Fail To Pitch Up"]

[Excerpt] The main thrust of the ANC's [African National Congress] rolling mass action campaign in Johannesburg—a march on John Vorster Square and then the Transvaal Provincial Administration [TPA] offices—fizzled out before reaching its target yesterday.

First, the expected thousands failed to pitch up at the scheduled 10 am start. Then, contrary to the plan, the march on the TPA's offices was cancelled because support was dwindling rapidly as the crowd made its way down city streets.

About 500 supporters began the Peace and Democracy march on John Vorster Square at 10 am.

The crowd had swelled to about 1,000 by the time it reached the notorious central Johannesburg police station where march leaders, including ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, handed over a petition addressed to President F.W. de Klerk which demanded a democratically elected Constituent Assembly and an interim government of national unity, among other demands.

ANC executive member Steve Tshwete, in an address to the crowd gathered at the police station, bemoaned the poor turnout.

"It seems that to some of our people these marches are a waste of time, but they are designed to bring down the Sodom and Gomorrah of apartheid," he said.

The march was peaceful throughout. [passage omitted]

Pietermaritzburg Rally

*MB2607202092 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1921 GMT 26 Jul 92*

[Text] Johannesburg July 26 SAPA—SA Communist Party [SACP] General Secretary Chris Hani on Sunday called on the African National Congress [ANC] armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] to teach blacks to defend themselves, claiming the government and its "allies" would counteract mass action with violence.

Speaking at a rally in Pietermaritzburg, he described the SACP/ANC/Congress of South African Trade Unions' withdrawal from Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) negotiations as his "happiest day" since 1990, saying the convention had been destroying the liberation movement.

Mr Hani called on the thousands of supporters present to occupy Pietermaritzburg streets "and make sure nothing moves" during next week's strike.

He said protesters would occupy retail and wholesale outlets to highlight hunger and poverty.

In East London at the weekend, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was "sentenced" to life imprisonment in a mock trial held by about 800 ANC members as part of the tripartite alliance's occupation of the city centre.

The proceedings took place before a large police contingent and a crowd much smaller than the 50,000 expected.

Most stores in the central business district were closed during the "occupation".

At Vosloorus on the East Rand, about 500 residents staged a peaceful but illegal march to their local police station on Sunday to protest against continued SA Defence Force presence in the township.

Police said 460 ANC supporters, arrested for staging a sit-in at Johannesburg's main post office on Saturday, were released on Sunday with a warning to appear in court in two weeks' time.

The ANC said on Sunday 1,000 were arrested at the post office, among them two visiting American University professors, children and a mentally handicapped boy.

Meanwhile, Imbali Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] leader Abdul Awetha on Sunday denied his members attempted to disrupt an ANC march in Pietermaritzburg on Saturday.

The ANC earlier accused Inkatha of having deliberately deployed its members at strategic points in the city to disrupt the march.

A tense stand-off between ANC and IFP members in Pietermaritz street nearly ended in violence when ANC

marchers threatened to tackle six prominent IFP members, all armed with handguns.

The IFP group left after talks with the police.

The ANC on Sunday accused police of laxity in dealing with the incident.

Police said they could not have known that a "group of bystanders" would provoke the marchers, and that quick police reaction had saved the situation.

The IFP men were in possession of firearm licenses and could not be charged, police said.

Botha, Transkei Ruler in Contact Over Embassy Attack

*MB2607171792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1628 GMT 26 Jul 92*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg July 26 SAPA—Foreign Affairs declined on Sunday to become embroiled in a public row over the South African embassy in Transkei which was besieged by African National Congress [ANC] supporters and which has geared itself for a second attack.

A public row would be in no one's interests, a spokesman for Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in a short statement.

He confirmed Mr Botha and Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa were in contact over the issue of the embassy, as well as over the recent detention of three South Africans under Transkei's security legislation.

Transkeian authorities have not yet allowed anyone to visit the three.

A South African diplomatic source told SAPA on Sunday he had no knowledge of a newspaper report that a crack SA Defence Force unit was on standby to rescue women, children and non-essential staff at the Umtata embassy if it was attacked.

Hundreds of protesters marched on the embassy last week on Tuesday as part of the ANC's rolling mass action campaign.

They stormed the embassy grounds after a three-hour delay before a petition they had carried with them was accepted.

South Africa's ambassador in Umtata, Horace van Rensburg, blamed Transkei's police for the delay, because they had not moved the crowd from the embassy fence.

However, Gen Holomisa reportedly accused Mr van Rensburg of not handling the situation correctly—he cited the long delay as unnecessary—and said the SA ambassador should be trained how to deal with such issues.

SABC radio news reports Gen Holomisa said it was his government's responsibility to see to it that all citizens living in Transkei were adequately protected, including personnel of the South African embassy.

He was speaking after meeting United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance at the weekend in Johannesburg.

Embassy staff are expecting a second protest march on Monday, August 3, the first day of a two-day general strike called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Paper Interviews Law, Order Minister

MB2607134492 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 26 Jul 92 p 25

[Report by Brian Pottinger: "Hernus Kriel: Policing His Way Through the Politics"]

[Text] On the day Hernus Kriel was appointed Minister of Law and Order seven months ago, he convened a meeting of the SA Police's general staff. "Always remember this," he told them. "I am not a policeman—I am a politician. I represent the government here."

This has not been a good week for policemen or politicians—but then few are.

An opinion poll reported that two out of every three South Africans did not trust the police to protect their lives. Another six policemen were murdered, bringing the total for the year to 116. A report prepared by two foreign police experts on the police investigation into the Boipatong massacre found what many had suspected all along: sheer incompetence rather than political bias is the root problem in the force.

Mr Kriel, a Cape-born former attorney who objects to being called the country's "top cop", seemed unfazed. In his panelled office in Wachthuis, SA Police headquarters in Pretoria, the uproar—the public affray unleashed by the ANC's [African National Congress] mass action campaign, citizens' desperate fears, teenage policemen's confusion, sudden death—all that seemed a world away.

He accepts his portfolio is "no win" until the political situation changes. "It was once said that the solution to South Africa's problems was 60 percent political and 40 percent security. Now it is 20 percent security and 80 percent political."

Four factors are responsible for the instability in the country, he believes: a changed political climate, a new police approach to the use of force, political rivalry and economic recession. There is, he says, a direct correlation between incidents of violence and the ANC's programmes of mass action.

"Since February 2 1990, we have moved into a new era in South Africa. We handled the situation in the olden days by arresting the leaders and putting them into jail. We are not doing that any more."

The police also recently accepted the doctrine of minimum force to effect the desired end. "That many be perceived as weakness—which is not the case."

If policing has itself become highly politicised, how can the situation be saved?

Mr Kriel, despite assurances that he takes the views of independent foreign experts seriously, remains sceptical about the role foreign observers and monitors can play: "If it means that people advise, and they look, then I am all for it. I don't believe we have anything to hide. But we must remember that for people coming from Europe and America it may be difficult to understand what is happening in our country."

"I am afraid that measures employed in the First World cannot be made applicable to the Third World. It would be difficult for, say, a British policeman to understand the townships, where the way the criminal elements operate is completely foreign to them."

A multinational panel of the Goldstone commission on control of demonstrations recently urged proper equipping and training of the SA Police to ensure they did not resort to lethal force. Was this a First World view?

"Because of the political fighting in South Africa it is clearly going to be difficult to handle demonstrations like, say, an anti-abortion demonstration in a western country."

"Here, particularly when you have mass action, one runs the risk of opposing political people intervening to show their objection. With these sorts of things there is always the danger of violence," he says.

Can the SA Police, a preciously thin blue line, keep morale and discipline under constant political attack and in the face of a slaughter rate proportionately seven times higher than that of the US? Mr Kriel believes the answer is yes—so far.

"It is difficult to assess the effect on morale of the continuous political attacks on the SA Police. Also, the constant complaints that they are overstepping the mark when they do act make it worse. It often makes it very difficult for them to act when they know a commission of inquiry will follow their every action."

Still, the 128,000-strong SA Police continues to draw more applicants, both white and black, than required, although this may be a function of the poor economy. Overall, says Mr Kriel, the force can be relied on to remain disciplined and effective during the coming weeks of turmoil.

He admits the poor image of the police has caused him concern. He calls police mis-creants "black sheep" and insists they are few and far between. Last year, however, this flock numbered 713 policemen and policewomen, convicted of crimes ranging from murder to petty theft. Ten thousand complaints against members of the force were investigated in the same period.

As minister, there have been shocks. One such was the Trust Feed case in Natal in 1988: the murder of black civilians by a police unit under the impression that they were ANC supporters. Investigators subsequently attempted a cover-up which was exposed only late last year, just before he took over the portfolio.

"That was a major disappointment to me—both the event and the investigation."

The lesson he drew: the SA Police should not be allowed to investigate crimes by its own members. An independent investigatory body is to be established instead.

Since succeeding Mr Adrian Vlok, Mr Kriel has also confronted racism in the force. Recently the first policemen from integrated training colleges passed out. He has ordered an evaluation of every black policeman to see if apartheid laws in any way affected promotional decisions in the past. He has no doubt they did.

Virtually all recent reports on the police refer to the damage done in the eyes of the black community by the police's enforcement of apartheid laws. How does one reposition a force with this atrocious reputation?

Mr Kriel believes it rests on four pillars: intensive training in crime detection and non-lethal crowd control; reorientation of the police to accept that they must act as unbiased peace-keepers; building up community relations; and developing staff, particularly black policemen.

And the tools to do it?

"I have some very good officer material. Some good generals who really try to adapt to the new circumstances, and that is the biggest issue, the adaptability of the SA Police," he says.

The investigation by Dr P Waddington, director of Criminal Justice Studies at the University of Reading in England, meanwhile, puts its faith in junior commissioned and non-commissioned officers and is critical of senior leadership.

Many black South Africans, however, believe ANC claims that the police are involved in death-squad activities against black civilians through a sinister "third force".

Mr Kriel is dismissive: "I believe the Goldstone commission killed that idea. They found there was no such thing.

"I was very worried about the claims. Obviously, I did not want to be caught in an organisation which was trying to sabotage the government. I really investigated the charge. To this day we have not found one scrap of evidence to support the claim—nobody has."

Minister Views Labor-Business Accord Collapse

MB2507174992 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1722 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] Pretoria July 25 SAPA—Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer says the government cannot be blamed for the collapse of the agreement between the employers' body, SACCOLA [South African Consultative Committee on Labor Affairs], and the labour union confederation, COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], on the planned nationwide strike.

Mr Meyer said that although the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (SACCOLA) had informally consulted the government on the matter on two occasions, the government had not been prescriptive, SABC radio news reports.

He said that he supported the initiative taken by business leaders to normalise relations with the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU), but that the government could not support the draft charter between SACCOLA and COSATU, because the charter prescribed time frames.

The government believed that these should be the result of negotiations.

Mr Meyer said that no workers' organisation or union had approached the government about the shutdown on the third of next month. The government felt that it would be unacceptable for it to support a complete shutdown on August 3, however.

ANC's Mbeki Justifies Need for Mass Action

MB2507105592 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR
in English 25 Jul 92 p 6

[Report by John Perlman: "Dismay at Mass Action, but Also Understanding"]

[Text] First appointment of another hectic Friday, and Thabo Mbeki was running late.

It might amuse opponents of the ANC [African National Congress] that the organisation's head of international affairs had been stuck at home because of a problem with his vehicle's immobiliser.

Immobilise, they would say, is what the ANC is trying to do to the country.

Mbeki's specific portfolio is international relations—he held extensive talks with United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance on Thursday—but he is also one of the ANC's key domestic diplomats.

It was in that capacity that he flew to Bloemfontein last night to meet Free State businessmen and professionals, who needed some convincing that mass action was a bitter but essential pill for our society and not a dose of poison.

Mbeki has probably been doing quite a bit of this recently. "There is certainly concern in business and diplomatic circles, a wish that mass action were not the only way to resolve this dispute," he says. "There is a sense of dismay."

But Mbeki disputes that this translates automatically into criticism of the ANC. "There are some people who are clearly opposed to our stance and don't understand it."

"But the standing of the National Party is not very high either. There is a lot of distrust, even if there is a more positive attitude to individuals like F.W. de Klerk."

"There is also understanding that the ANC needed to act as it has. Businessmen convey to us that they want the solutions to be as peaceful as possible; we convey to them that they can make a contribution."

Mbeki describes the failure of labour and industry to reach a pact to avert next month's general strike as "unfortunate". South African business, he says, does understand that there are grievances.

"Part of the problem, though, is that some of them now claim that they are not political, that they don't want to get involved."

"But there was a time when they had a comfortable relationship with Government and they were happy to attend all those summits with P.W. Botha, where they more or less got what they wanted. Now that has changed and there is resistance. An agreement between SACCOLA [South African Consultative Committee on Labor Affairs] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] could have made an important contribution."

Foreign businessmen, says Mbeki, tend to take a longer-term view of the situation than their South African counterparts. "They have a basic concern about the speed with which we are moving, more than a concern with what is happening day to day."

"There were a lot of expectations that CODESA [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 2 would produce an interim government, and a number of corporations were standing by to make announcements about investment. Once CODESA failed, they held back."

"An interim government is important because it would signal that the process of changing the political-power relationship in South Africa has started, that the country is no longer simply ruled by a white minority government as of old. There is a very serious concern about the levels of instability that derive from the absence of a political settlement."

Instability, some would argue, will also derive from mass action. "It is unfortunate that the scenario has been portrayed in this way, that mass political action equals violence and unrest. It doesn't."

"What all of us should be saying is that we have the civil liberty to express an opinion by meetings or marching in the streets. In that context we call on everybody to behave themselves. But saying that mass action produces violence simply justifies that violence," Mbeki says.

"The overwhelming majority in the country would have wanted a solution to our problems without the levels of conflict we have now. But we have a practical problem. The deadlock at CODESA did not occur between equal parties."

"If the Government were not both player and referee, it would not be necessary for us to have demonstrations."

Looking at the international picture, Mbeki rejects the view expressed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha that mass action would be in conflict with the spirit of United Nations Resolution 765. "The matter did not even arise. There was no suggestion that peaceful activity of this sort must be stopped."

Mbeki believes the ANC's shift into tough-talking mode has not cost it support abroad. "One must understand that in the rest of the world it is normal to have peaceful demonstrations, it is not extraordinary to have strikes. You don't have this hands-up-in-horror attitude. In all of the meetings we have attended, both conferences and bilateral talks, there is understanding for the position which the ANC has stated on majority rule," he says.

Today, Mbeki hopes to take a break from all this diplomacy by watching the Kaizer Chiefs-Orlando Pirates cup tie at the FNB Stadium—well, sort of a break. Diplomatically, he will not be drawn on which team he supports.

"I like both of them," he says. Any soccer fan, of course will tell you that's impossible. But for now, at least Mbeki probably has enough wrangling on his plate as it is.

Business Group Recommends 'No Work, No Pay'

*MB2507103092 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0848 GMT 25 Jul 92*

[Text] A policy of "no work, no pay" has been recommended by the South African Chamber of Business [SACOB] for those workers who heed the call for a mass stayaway on August 3.

In a set of general guidelines circulated to all Chambers of Commerce and Industry, as well as to individual companies throughout the country, SACOB made suggestions on disciplinary steps, the use of Peace Accord structures, and the necessity of contact with the local commanders of security forces in an effort to minimise the effects of the strike.

A two-day stayaway has been called by the ANC [African National Congress]-COSATU [Congress of South

African Trade Unions]-SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance as part of its campaign of mass action launched to force the government to meet certain demands.

SACOB said although it recognised "the right to express political views and supports peaceful and non-disruptive initiatives aimed at expressing dissent, we are opposed to any action which would lead to an escalation in levels of violence, risk to life and property and further disruptions to the economy".

The chamber suggested that before August 3, management hold discussions with its workforce on the potential impact of the strike on the economy and on the company's operations.

"The following points can be used:

"Longest economic recession in over 50 years;

"Between two to three million economically active people are currently unemployed;

"Business is the principal employer of labour and contributor to the national wealth—it cannot fulfill these functions in a climate of instability and violence;

"Any future government will inherit the economy which we now create. A crippled economy cannot serve the interests of the population."

SACOB said some employers might consider disciplinary action, as the attitudes of many businesses towards stayaways "is hardening in the light of the frequency of the latter and the poor economic situation".

"However, it is also recognised that many companies may not wish to jeopardize the sound relationship which they have developed with either their workforce or trade unions."

On marches, demonstrations or the occupation of buildings, SACOB urged management to "communicate its strong opposition to any form of demonstration which is conducted in working hours, unless by arrangement".

The Chamber suggested management approach workers to "jointly examine creative options to prevent destructive forms of mass action".

In addition, SACOB proposed that employees give a written undertaking they would not occupy factory or office buildings.

The Chamber recommended that regional and local dispute resolution committees—set up in terms of the National Peace Accord—be used by business representatives to point out the potential for an increase in violence.

"Dispute resolution committees should be utilised to facilitate close prior liaison between the police and participants in mass action."

On security, SACOB urged that Chambers of Commerce and Industry "establish and maintain ongoing contact with local commanders of security forces for purposes of two-way exchanges of relevant information".

Security forces employed by the private sector had to be on full alert and "must be fully briefed on their legal rights and duties with the emphasis on avoiding confrontation".

SACOB suggested that smaller businesses consider engaging a security company and that "staff be briefed as fully as possible to obviate undue anxiety or panic, but at the same time to instill maximum security consciousness".

Inkatha Union 'To Defend' Right To Work

*MB2407190192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1810 GMT 24 Jul 92*

[Text] Johannesburg July 24 SAPA—The Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of South Africa [UWUSA] on Friday said it would defend its members' right to work during the two-day national strike called for August 3 and 4.

"We will do whatever is necessary to protect our members against any form of intimidation aimed at preventing us from exercising our democratic right to work, live and shop when and where we choose," UWUSA President J Dlamini said in a statement.

While recognising the right of those who wished to strike or demonstrate, Mr Dlamini said UWUSA was of the view that a trade union's main task and objective should be to facilitate and protect the worker's interests at the workplace.

"We therefore appeal to COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] affiliates not to involve the worker's struggle in any political spheres such as mass actions aimed at achieving political interests."

Mr Dlamini also expressed his concern at the increase of unemployment and liquidation of companies that "would arise" out of the strike.

The statement was endorsed by United Independent Trade Unions Adhoc Committee of SA (UTUACOSA) Secretary Mr M Gumede.

APLA 'Commander' Claims Policemen's Deaths

*MB2607182792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1749 GMT 26 Jul 92*

[Text] Johannesburg July 26 SAPA—A man claiming to be the newly appointed commander of the Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA] in South Africa, Karl Zimbiri, said in a telephone call to SAPA on Sunday his "students" had been responsible for deaths of policemen in the Vaal area, Durban, Katshehong, Soweto, Kagiso and Thokoza over the past several weeks.

Mr Zimbiri, "ordered back to South Africa from Dar es Salaam three months ago to take over the high command", claimed to have been a commander of APLA on the Witwatersrand before returning for further training to Dar es Salaam.

He had been instructed by APLA to once again return to South Africa to "educate students in arms and in war". Some of these "students" had been responsible for deaths of policemen in recent months.

"But I have not claimed responsibility for the deaths. They are nothing. I am waiting for the 'big one' we are planning and which will happen soon."

He said APLA was not concerned with negotiations, stalled or otherwise. Its aim was a "socialist democracy", and it was impossible for socialists to talk to capitalists.

Situation in Vaal Triangle Townships Outlined

*MB2407181892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1740 GMT 24 Jul 92*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg July 24 SAPA—The crisis situation in Vaal Triangle townships, already a flashpoint of the new militancy in the country, has further deteriorated since the Boipatong massacre on June 17.

A tour through Sebokeng and Evaton on Friday hit home the fact that the area has become a war zone and a potential health hazard.

The ANC [African National Congress]-led campaign of rolling mass action has taken over in the area's townships—Sebokeng, Evaton, Sharpeville, Boipatong and Bophelong.

Journalists were invited by the administrator of Sebokeng, Herman Immelman, to join him on a tour of the embattled townships. A councillor from Germiston on the East Rand, he took up the post last October.

The group "cruised" the two townships—mostly Sebokeng—under armed municipal police guard in two TPA [Transvaal Provincial Administration] casspirs.

There were frequent encounters with armoured police patrols, and when the group left the townships three hours later a police helicopter circled above.

Journalists were allowed to stop and get out when they wanted, but had to stay close to the armoured vehicles and were not allowed to remain in one spot long. There was no official contact with township residents or with any local organisations, civic or political, during the tour.

Less than 20 per cent of residents in Vaal townships were paying for municipal services, Mr Immelman said. The TPA had told him they did not have the money to bail him out anymore.

"I fear the situation is only going to deteriorate," he warned. Staff may have to be laid off at some time in the future. "Let's hope God will help us."

The dozens of barricades varied from ditches dug across both tar and gravel roads, huge boulders, burnt out vehicles, rolled up razor wire, piles of rubbish—basically anything to stop security force patrols.

At night, once the minibuses have done most of their day's work, they get rebuilt.

"Terrorise RSA" was graffitied across one road.

Sebokeng and Evaton on Friday graphically depicted how municipal services had broken down.

Sewerage at one point was estimated to be gushing out at a rate of about 8,000 litres a minute from a "sabotaged" manhole. As a result the sewerage ended up in the Riet Spruit, about 40km away, "and then in the Vaal River", Mr Immelman explained.

He said the situation was so serious in Sebokeng's Zone 7 he would instruct his engineers on Friday afternoon to switch off the water supply to the area immediately.

Up to 200 homes—"maybe more"—would be affected by the switchoff.

Health officers on contract to Sebokeng from the nearby Vanderbijlpark town council accompanied journalists on the tour. They were anxious that the 13 clinics in the Vaal townships remained open.

The only two mobile clinics in the area had already stopped operating because of fears for the safety of staff, after a health vehicle was recently hijacked.

Medical officer Dr Kobie van der Walt said the health staff—about 120 in total—were not ensured while on duty in the townships "because of the situation here".

International Red Cross-type red crosses would be painted on the sides of all their vehicles as soon as possible in a bid to guarantee the continuation of essential health services, she said.

While the two casspirs gingerly manoeuvred between and over the barricades groups of youths silently moved behind nearby houses in pursuit of the tour.

At one point, in Sebokeng's Zone 11, members of a group symbolically hurled a few stones at the cavalcade. Others in the group raised their arms in the air—giving the V-sign—and shouted: "peace, peace", before dashing off again.

Mr Immelman said he was at his wit's end about what to do to get municipal services resumed.

"The problem is the youth. They don't respect anybody. I get heartsore when I see this," he said looking out of a casspir window.

He estimated the cost of repairing the damage so far at more than R[Rand]8 million.

Piles of refuse littered the streets and open spaces. Children were picking through some of the piles, cattle and goats were eating at others.

The breakdown in services in the Vaal Triangle townships accelerated after two local forums failed at bringing the Vereeniging and Vanderbilpark town councils and the townships closer to implementing the "one city, one council" concept.

One of Mr Immelman's staff members told the story of how, about three weeks ago, Eskom [Electricity Supply Commission] negotiated a deal with the "comrades" in Sebokeng so they could enter a no-go area to repair a transformer. However, when the job was done and the Eskom employees wanted to leave the "comrades" held them at ransom and demanded R200 a head.

In the end, according to the staff member, Eskom dispatched someone with R4,000 and paid the ransom.

There was also the story of a company contracted to dig graves in Sharpeville. The "comrades" recently hijacked the company's grave digging machine and were now using it to dig trenches in the streets.

"My hands are cut off," Mr Immelman said during the tour. "I can't do anything. I only sleep about four hours a night. If I was a lady I would sit down and cry.

"I am not here to take sides. I am here to help the people. We haven't got any hidden agenda."

Labor Party Considering ANC, PAC Alliance

MB2607072692 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0600 GMT 26 Jul 92

[Text] The Labor Party has decided to give its regions two options, that of forming an alliance with the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress or forming a centrist party. This decision was taken at its national executive meeting in Maitland, Cape Town. The media relations officer of the Labor Party, Mr. Peter Hendrickse, said the party expected the regions to come up with a solution when it holds its annual conference in Port Elizabeth starting on 28 December.

27 Jul Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB2707134892

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY TIMES

Police 'Incompetence'—Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 26 July in a page 24 editorial says

the principal finding of the inquiry led by Dr Peter Waddington into the handling of the Boipatong massacre by the South African Police, SAP, is "that incompetence, not malice, lies at the heart of the problem." The police are "unable to restore order in the country, or to win the confidence of the public on whom they depend, and the consequent frustration—on all sides—contributes to fresh misjudgments and fresh outbreaks of indiscipline or brutality." SUNDAY TIMES makes the above comments "with a measure of sympathy for the police," but "with a fury towards the politicians of the National Party," who "instead of squandering the wealth of the nation," should supply proper training for their officers.

SUNDAY STAR

Police Force in 'Sorry State'—"The entire nation should be alarmed at the sorry state of the SAP exposed by the Waddington Report, which found the police fiasco at Boipatong to be symptomatic of the force as a whole," begins the page 28 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 26 July. "Only when the public see the police going about their job with impressive and unquestionable efficiency and neutrality, will trust and acceptance be restored. The financial cost of such a drastic overhaul would be something the struggling economy could ill afford. But failure to stop the slide into lawlessness will cost the country even much more."

THE STAR

Vaal Townships' Services Collapse—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 27 July in a page 14 editorial says services in the Vaal Triangle townships have failed for, among others, the following reasons: "They were often rudimentary enough to begin with, and now councils have run out of funds because of rent and service charge boycotts; or thugs have taken control and made the repair and maintenance of existing services impossible." Although the ultimate solutions "are political," "for the present it is urgent that local organisations and the authorities get back to the negotiating table to hammer out agreement on rent and service payments, and for political leaders to strive for an end to the wanton destruction of facilities. That is the only way the slide towards anarchy can be arrested."

BUSINESS DAY

Call for Independently Supervised Police Restructuring—Commenting on the Waddington report on poor police handling of the investigation into the Boipatong massacre, Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 27 July in a page 6 editorial is not reassured by the initial reactions to the report. Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe has "promised urgent attention to matters indicated by Waddington. How would such a programme be managed efficiently when the force's

management shortcomings have only now dawned on senior policemen? The ANC [African National Congress], whose own security operations are not beyond reproach and which has done its best to persuade citizens not to co-operate with the police, is using the Waddington report to score political points. And Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has thrown the whole matter over to the police force, some of whose members are accused of complicity in death squads and political murders." "Stumbling blocks to agreement on the police force's future are the mutual mistrust of the NP [National Party] and the ANC and public mistrust of a joint initiative by the two political groups whose cupboards are full of security skeletons. An independently supervised restructuring of the SAP could stand a chance of general acceptance."

SOWETAN

Criticism of Mortgage Repayment Boycott Plan—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 27 July in a page 10 editorial appeals to the South African National Civics Organization, SANCO, to abandon its mortgage repayment boycott plans. SANCO should "learn from the various rent and electricity boycotts local civic associations enforced" which resulted in "misery for tens of thousands of people when their electricity and water were cut off. Banks are now no longer prepared to lend out money to prospective home buyers. "What must people in need of home loans do?" SANCO should have considered this before calling the boycott. "We do not want to see thousands of blacks simply ignore the boycott. It ridicules the organisations and Government will be delighted."

Angola**Dos Santos Addresses Huambo Rally 24 Jul**

*MB2507114592 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 25 Jul 92*

[Text] At a mass rally held in the city of Huambo yesterday, President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos recalled the sad time of war faced by the local residents, which were characterized by the killing of children, old people, and women and the destruction of socioeconomic infrastructure. He went to Huambo to verify personally whether it was true that the Huambo residents were all supporters of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. He did not believe that and described the remark as tribalist.

[Begin Dos Santos recording] In this city many explosive devices and bombs went off. The bombs did not discriminate among people, for they were not directed at the Umbundus, Quimbundos, Quicongos, blacks or coloreds. Those bombs killed Angolans. So when I was told that the residents of Huambo were UNITA supporters, I said that that was a lie, a tribalist remark.

Yet another proof of that is that when those bombs went off in this city or when the Benguela railroad was systematically destroyed, it was our comrades who stayed here to protect the people. We never abandoned the people. Our people are good and generous. They do not on the basis of race, color, or tribe. [end recording]

In a clear reference to the multiparty meeting, which Jonas Savimbi's organization refuses to attend, Dos Santos said UNITA has always rejected dialogue, debate, and political coexistence.

[Begin Dos Santos recording] If there is time before elections are held, that meeting could only include the heads of political parties. What worries me, however, is that whenever the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola or its government, or other parties call for a multiparty meeting, UNITA rejects it. UNITA runs away from dialogue, it runs away from debate, it runs away from the family. [laughs] After all, we Angolans consider ourselves as a large Angolan family and should always find time to sit down as political leaders to assess national problems and find the basis for a solid understanding which guarantees total reconciliation among Angolans.

The time for war is gone. Power must not come through the barrel of a gun, as Maoists used to say. Power rests on the sovereign will of the people. What do the people want? The people want peace and national unity. So, why don't all politicians follow the people's will? When one runs away from debate and fraternal dialogue, one is left with the impression that one does not clearly understand what democracy is all about. [end recording]

While in Huambo the Angolan president was briefed by traditional leaders on the atmosphere of instability promoted by UNITA elements in the area.

Dos Santos Holding Talks on Extending UN Mission

*MB2507195692 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 25 Jul 92*

[Text] Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has revealed that he is holding talks with political parties in the country to reach a consensus regarding the period of the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 [Unavem-2] in Angola.

[Begin Dos Santos recording] I have been consulting the leaders of different political parties in the country to ascertain whether they agree with the idea of asking the United Nations to extend the period of Unavem-2 in Angola for another two or three months after elections so as to guarantee stability and confidence in our government, even for those who will lose the elections. These consultations are still under way and if all the parties agree, we shall present this request. [end recording]

Dos Santos Deplores Increasing 'Intimidation'

*MB2607050092 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 25 Jul 92*

[Text] At a mass rally in Bailundo, Huambo Province, today, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos deplored the increasing acts of intimidation in the country.

[Begin Dos Santos recording] The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola has already proved that it can guarantee peace, stability, tranquility, and security for all. This is not propaganda. During the war, elements belonging to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] could not reach our cities. They could not reach Luanda or Huambo and when they did, it was during the very early hours of the morning and they had to flee immediately. [laughter]

After the signing of the peace accords, we opened our cities and they were able to come in. They now can move freely and are able to hold rallies. We are the government. We have a lot of power, but we have not sent anyone to jail. I lament greatly that they do not want to follow our example. They want to continue to use force as they did in the past in order to impose their ideas. I greatly lament this. [end recording]

Official on Incident

*MB2607070492 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 25 Jul 92*

[Text] In line with the Angolan head of state's stated concern about increasing acts of intimidation, Deputy Information Minister Aldemiro Vaz da Conceicao reported an unusual incident which occurred in Huambo the day before President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' visit there.

[Begin Da Conceicao recording] I regret to report that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] detonated two explosive devices on the eve of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' arrival in the city of Huambo. One went off in the vicinity of the airport, the

other near the Angolan Police's radio patrol station. Nevertheless, as you have witnessed, the people responded in the best possible manner by turning up in large numbers at the rally and courageously participating in it.

Such acts of intimidation are not going to change anything. In fact, what they reflect is UNITA's inability to mobilize the people. What the government is willing to guarantee is security and order for the citizens, so they can support whichever political party they wish to support. [end recording]

Governor Says UNITA Hindering Administration

MB2507114792 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] Cuando Cubango Province Governor Domingos Hungo has accused the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] of hindering the local administration's performance.

[Begin Hungo recording] UNITA is still imposing its views on our administrator. The first time the administrator went to the area he was searched. He had already been officially introduced to the residents. The second time, when he and the Mavinga administrator visited the area, they were searched. Last week, a convoy carrying boarder guards left for Rivungo within the framework of the peace accords. UNITA did not allow the police to proceed with their weapons. [end recording]

UNITA Condemns Dos Santos 'Warmongering'

MB2707094792 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and
Central Africa 0500 GMT 27 Jul 92

[Communique issued by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola Military and Security Commission in Bie city on 26 July]

[Text] Mr. Jose Eduardo do Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola [RPA], is to arrive in Bie Province tomorrow, 27 July 1992. What is strange and inconceivable is the fact that he will be accompanied by forces armed to the teeth, with military equipment which will include BMP-1 and armored cars. That is in addition to those armed forces already on the ground who also have three BMP-1 armored cars to patrol the city. All that is alleged to be for the personal security of His Excellency Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the Republic.

On 21 July Colonel Arnaldo, acting Bie military zone commander, is reported to have deliberately and provocatively ordered that the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola not bring along four 67-mm mortars for the safety of His Excellency President Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] during his visit to the area. Those alleged four mortars were (?reported by his informants) in Cambandua. This warmongering behavior looks very good [as heard] and it reminds people about

the final attacks of 1990 and 1991, a particularly sad memory within the context of Angola's 16-year war.

Angolan people, it is confusing and strange that a president who wants to defend peace and who comes in the name of that same peace, should present himself to the people—whom, he says, support the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola—with such warmongering and provocative behavior, as though the 16-year war were not enough for Angola. Let us remind the Angolan and international communities that His Excellency UNITA President Jonas Malheiro Savimbi is still in the same city. He came as a simple leader, a friend of the people who trusted in the people alone for his safety.

Fourteen months have now passed since the signing of the peace accords in Bicesse, Portugal. We are 66 days from holding elections. It is unthinkable and unacceptable that BMP-1 cars, which cost so much blood to Angola's best sons, should now threaten yet another bloodbath among people seeking peace and calm. What is more, they could destroy whatever remains of our road network, which is strange in view of the fact that the RPA Government blames UNITA for ravaging our beautiful country.

It is for these reasons that we call on the Angolan and international communities, the Joint Political and Military Commission, the UN Angola Verification Mission-2, and Her Excellency Mrs. Margaret Anstee, the UN secretary general's representative, who will be responsible for supervising Angola's elections, to be alert to yet another attempt to escalate war in our country with the aim of derailing the free elections scheduled to take place in Angola on 29 and 30 September of this year.

[Issued] City of Bie, 26 July 1992

[Signed] The Military and Security Commission

*** Holden Roberto Fears for Genuine Elections**

92AF0967B Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese
27 Jun 92 p 8

[Interview with FNLA leader Holden Roberto by Gustavo Costa in Luanda; date not given: "Politics Should Be a Sacred Mission"]

[Text] Returning to Luanda after a lengthy absence from the country to obtain treatment for an intestinal disorder, Holden Roberto is preparing to initiate his election campaign with an offensive in the interior of Angola aimed at "sending a different peace message from the warring parties are divulging." In an interview with EXPRESSO, the leader of the FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola] voiced the fear that "since armed combat is being replaced by psychological warfare," Angola could return to chaos in September. He warned: "I fear that the elections will not be genuine."

[Costa] What is the new message that you are bringing?

[Roberto] We have a different vision from that of the other parties. Our principal concern is to avoid having

the country return to a war situation, because the FNLA had nothing to do with the civil war that has devastated the country. We are not concerned with power; we are concerned with the democratization of the society, because we understand politics to be a sacred mission that must impress on the Angolans, on the basis of peace, fellowship, and harmony, the idea of rejecting any type of orchestration by foreign powers.

[Costa] Is this the basic concern to be analyzed in your next national conference?

[Roberto] No. During the conference we will focus on the lines of our future intervention in the political life of Angola, the fundamental pillars of which will be the deepening of democracy, the privilege of understanding, and the planning of actions that will lead to the pacification of spirits in Angola.

'I Fear Phony Elections'

[Costa] You are very insistent in this regard. Are you afraid that the elections will be held under the threat of three armies?

[Roberto] You speak of three armies, but the fact is that I am becoming concerned about the serious possibility that we could be confronted with four or more armies. Let us not forget that the population is armed and is experiencing a period of confusion, with a psychological war that does not help to establish law and order. The armed conflict ended, but then the war of the airwaves broke out, which is giving rise to a climate of great tension. Hence I am afraid that a climate favorable to incitements will lead to disturbances and even deaths, with the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] behaving like enemies and not adversaries, creating a climate that could make elections impossible and bring on a settling of accounts.

[Costa] Will these concerns cast a shadow over the voter registration process?

[Roberto] Certainly. Since the administration has not been extended [throughout the country], I do not see how people can vote. Since there is no freedom of movement, I do not believe there can be an election, and the peace accords will not be carried out. I am afraid that, given the present picture, we will have phony elections, with the country cloaked in illegality.

[Costa] To what extent will the next multiparty meeting assess this situation?

[Roberto] In the first place, I lament that the MPLA government has not honored the recommendations of the first meeting and has allowed ill will and even dishonesty to emerge. I personally offered specific proposals regarding the 32d Battalion and both the government, and UNITA turned their backs on me in an electoral game indicative of ill will and a certain irresponsibility. UNITA should participate at the next

meeting, so as to reach a definite understanding about the peace and trust among all the parties, to create the conditions so that Angola may truly become a nation.

[Costa] In wagering on a coalition with the PRD [Democratic Renewal Party] and the FRD [expansion not given], is the FNLA definitely ruling out the idea of an alliance with the MPLA?

[Roberto] We are in the National Council of the Opposition to bring forward a solid idea of the unity of the opposition. However, there is nothing definite with regard to any coalition. The position of the FNLA is not to make alliances for the sake of alliances; we will not ally with UNITA to fight against the MPLA, or vice versa. We will form alliances to further the cause of democracy, and neither the MPLA nor UNITA seems interested in giving priority to democracy. At no time has any leader of the MPLA or UNITA spoken with me about a possible alliance. If the MPLA wants to form an alliance, it should first voice a desire for democracy, a desire to foster national unity to avoid upheaval. Meanwhile, everything that has been said is simply rumor. Certain alliances have power as their objective; our alliances aim at democracy. Under these circumstances, it would be very difficult for the FNLA to form alliances with these parties.

Appeal for Abstention?

[Costa] In the event of a second round, and if it is out of the race for the Futungo, will the FNLA advise its electorate to vote for Eduardo dos Santos or Jonas Savimbi?

[Roberto] Voting is a national imperative; the future of the country is at stake. Angolans must reflect on it and not vote according to tribe, race, region, or other divisive factors. The fact is that neither Eduardo dos Santos nor Jonas Savimbi has yet expressed a desire for democracy; they are only concerned with power, which has never been exercised with morality in Angola.

[Costa] Are you saying that you are going to appeal to your voters to abstain?

[Roberto] I am not saying this, because the two men could have a change of attitude. God performs miracles, and when the moment comes, the people will have to decide.

[Costa] This week President Eduardo dos Santos was in Gabon and Cabinda. He was the center of attention of the discussions held in that country. How do you see the situation in the Cabinda enclave evolving?

[Roberto] The question of Cabinda is not a personal issue of President Eduardo dos Santos but a problem that concerns all Angolans. Although, on principle, the FNLA opposes any separation of the territory of Cabinda, which would be the end of Angola, I must recognize that the demands of the people of Cabinda must be taken into consideration. These demands are just, and it is inconceivable that, with the potential wealth that comes from the oil wells, the inhabitants of Cabinda should live

in such misery, to the point of having to resort to the Congo for petroleum. We are wagering on dialogue, and for this reason, we believe that the FLEC [Front for the Liberation of Cabinda Enclave] must be heard.

* Portuguese Role in Shaping New Armed Forces

92AF0967A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese
27 Jun 92 pp 34-35

[Article by Benjamim Formigo: "The Last Commission"]

[Text] Luanda—Before independence, it was the officers' mess of the Portuguese Army. There were parties and great banquets on the terrace, given primarily by those who, coming in from the jungle, were determined to demonstrate their indifference to the money that the army paid them. Today it is the Hotel Imperio, and it houses the nerve center of the first large Portuguese military mission since the end of the Empire.

The sixth-floor terrace has disappeared, replaced by a small restaurant and sitting room. Below this are the sleeping quarters. On the second floor, Ambassador Vitor Monteiro holds forth. He is chief of the Temporary Portuguese Mission to the Peace Structures in Angola—the official designation. On the first floor is General Tome Pinto, commander of these 150 men.

Two paratroopers—examples of a species on the verge of extinction—and a naval officer share Office No. 11, where the delegates to the Joint Verification and Monitoring Commission [CMVF] work. Office No. 12 houses the support services. An Air Force lieutenant colonel, delegate for the formation of the Air Force, shares Office No. 13 with a Navy commander, assigned to the formation of the Navy. The next to last room on the left-hand side, No. 14, is shared by two colonels: One is chief of staff of the military mission, and the other is an artillery colonel and delegate to the Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces. In the last office on the left, No. 15, sits Brigadier General Bonito, chief of the Verification Commission. Directly in front is the office of the commanding general.

The paratroopers, Lieutenant Colonels Chaves and Lima Pinto, are never separated from each other. Some people have nicknamed them the "Siamese twins." They left for Angola on the same day with barely enough time to pack their bags. Although the two are inseparable, physically they are nothing alike, much less twins. The only thing that unites them is their green berets. Theirs is one of the most sensitive missions. Together with Garcia Esteves, they are the observers for the CMVF. They update the statistics on the whereabouts of the troops on both sides—the government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]—and they attempt to determine the reasons for the variations in the numbers of the troops confined to bases. A little while ago, one of them had to fly over Cuando Cubango, searching for UNITA's alleged "secret army." It was an inglorious mission, poorly planned, delayed in execution, and without secrecy.

They avoid discussing their work because it is "sensitive," but they are enthusiastic about their mission. They were both in Tancos: Lima Pinto in the Air Base Training Squadron and Chaves at the Paratrooper Base. When they were called in by their respective commanders to be offered the assignment to Angola, they gave it almost no thought. "I put everything I had at the base in the trunk of my car and took off for Lisbon," confessed Lt. Col. Chaves. Lt. Col. Lima Pinto had preceded him to the capital and had everything in order for his departure.

A few weeks ago, on the sixth floor of the Hotel Imperio, Gen. Tome Pinto and Ambassador Antonio Monteiro took part in a small ceremony to present colonel's stripes to Lieutenant Colonel Rui Reis, of the Artillery, who had just been promoted. As soon as the speeches were over, Antonio Monteiro replaced the lieutenant colonel's stripes on Reis's right shoulder with those of full colonel, while Gen. Tome Pinto did the same on his left shoulder. With the old insignia in his hand, Rui Reis immediately took the opportunity to join with the paratroopers (whom the new legislation places under the command of the Army). "Sirs," said the newly promoted artillery colonel, "I would like to offer these (lieutenant colonel's) stripes to (paratrooper) Lima Pinto, who will soon be needing them."

Rui Reis was serving his third year in a row as a professor at the Institute of Advanced Military Studies when he received the invitation to be a member of the team of the CCFA [Joint Commission for the Creation of the Angolan Armed Forces] that was going to Angola. Like all the rest, he had the same sentiment. "This land made its mark on me, and I wanted to return, particularly on a mission of this kind, to build an armed forces from the roots. The fact is that we have already done everything from a theoretical standpoint, even the table of organization, which in Portugal has taken us several years."

He had performed military service in northern Angola, in Beira Baixa and Nambuangongo. He was wounded there in combat and was decorated with the Cross of War. But his military history in the former colony has in no way affected his relations with the Angolan comrades who are working with him on the CCFA. "Quite the contrary, the knowledge of the people and the land has only helped me. They know what we are talking about. We do not discuss terrain in the abstract; when we talk, we talk about specific zones and specific things," Rui Reis explained.

According to Rui Reis, and also to paratrooper Lt. Col. Chaves, the return "was a shock. We found a completely different city from the one we had known."

Colonel Ramos is chief of staff for Gen. Tome Pinto. He had also served in Africa, more precisely, in Mozambique. He presents a dispassionate but enthusiastic view of the creation of the Armed Forces of Angola. "The important thing was not to come here and impose models. That would be the easy solution. It was necessary to look for solutions that took the Angolan reality

into account and to let the Angolans themselves arrive at their own solutions. This is what we have done." Ramos did not admit it, but among the Angolan military the current word is that the Portuguese military had to put its foot down with the English and the French, "who were much more interested in creating a zone of influence here than in contributing to the formation of our army," the Angolans confided.

"The past is long gone. The colonial war ended almost 20 years ago. That is a generation! It is not affecting our working relations. Sometimes, at home, my sons ask me what colonialism was all about," explained General Araujo, second in command of the FAPA-DAA [People's Air Force of Angola-Air Defense]—the government's air force—and the officer responsible, on the government's side, for the formation of the new Angolan Air Force. Standing beside him, Portuguese Air Force pilot Lieutenant Colonel Mario Jordao smiled. The UNITA representative was not present at this meeting, having received no such instructions. Gen. Araujo, who had served in the Portuguese Army, and Colonel Alcides Santos ("Wima"), his UNITA counterpart, have no problems working with each other or with the Portuguese lieutenant colonel. "We have the blue shirt (the Air Force uniform) in common, and this motivates us to move forward more quickly than the others," he exclaimed proudly.

"There is not much for me to do once this mission is concluded. After organizing an Air Force, what satisfaction would it give me to command a base, after being promoted to colonel?" Mario Jordao asked. The officer had already been in Angola, as a lieutenant, in the celebrated 94th Squadron (helicopters) detached in the east. At the end of the war, he was involved in transporting important figures in the guerrilla movements between the outskirts of Lusaca and Lunhames, in the environs of Lucusse, Moxico Province, where the ceasefire was signed.

At the Luanda Air Base, Mario Jordao allowed us to take a photograph of him beside an Allouette III, the helicopter he flew in eastern Angola, but first he opened the door so that the inscription "Police" would not be visible in the photograph. Although they are the property of the FAPA-DAA, the only Allouettes available in Luanda have been loaned to the police.

When we returned to the Hotel Imperio for a photo session, Col. Reis ran to his room to pick up a small remote-controlled model sailboat to put in the office of Navy Cdr. Vasco Lupi, the Navy delegate to the CCFA. A sailor should not be photographed without a ship!

At 50 years of age, Commander Vasco Lupi is a few kilograms overweight. He has an unequivocally naval beard, a shiny bald spot, and a good-natured air. The commander served a mission in Angola, also in the east, and at that time he did not have an opportunity to get to know Luandan society. His coming here was a "totally new experience, even more so because it is the first time that I have worked together with personnel from the other branches (of the

armed forces). In addition, from a professional standpoint, it is extremely gratifying to be involved in the foundation of a navy." From a personal standpoint, Lupi found "an opportunity to get to know Angolan society, or at least the Luandan society, and the fact is that today I feel perfectly integrated." The statement is common to all of the Portuguese military in Angola.

Like any sailor, Vasco Lupi began by visiting the Naval Club of Luanda. There he met the painter Nito Mendes Ribeiro, and the two organized "fado" [ballad] and guitar sessions. One day Mario Jordao was invited to a party at the club and decided to ask to sing a "fado." The pilot regularly sings with friends and already had a "fado club" in Lisbon. "Fado" attracts "fado." It was discovered that Vasco Lupi was also a singer. Now the aviator and the sailor meet on the last Friday of every month, "to butcher some 'fados' at the home of friends or at the Naval Club," Vasco Lupi explained.

Wounded in combat in northern Angola in 1961, Gen. Tome Pinto saw death up close. The bullet entered his cheek and exited at the nape of his neck. At one point, the doctor at the head of his bed was replaced by a priest, who gave him the last rites. "I fought. I gave it all I had, and I recovered. After that, in Guinea, I told my men that if and when they were wounded, they had to fight for life. Those first few moments are crucial," explained the chief of the military mission and the youngest officer to reach the rank of general, although, in the sequence of promotions following 25 April, he was passed over by two younger comrades. He likes opera and literature and confesses he has little time to himself.

His team is divided between Luanda and Huambo and soon will also be in Cabo Delgado, where the Air Force Training Center is installed, which will also train sailors. "The (Portuguese) Air Force began with the Naval Air Corps. This time we are going to reverse the trend, and the 'blue shirts' will be training the tars," Lt. Col Jordao joked.

The general moves freely in Angolan circles, and his opinion is respected. Tome Pinto is always on the go, between meetings and between Luanda and Huambo or between Luanda and Lisbon. His men have to go looking for him—most of the time with success.

When the first team of Portuguese instructors reached Huambo, Tome Pinto and part of his general staff were there. There were no facilities, and, to the great astonishment of the Angolans, junior and senior officers were installed in tents. Later, with the help of army engineers, they took over a totally deteriorated building (which had been occupied by the Soviets) and, once again, the Portuguese knack for improvisation bore fruit. A generator provides electric power. A motor pump raises water to the storage tanks on the roof through a hose running inside the walls of the building. The bathrooms function. "We just do not have hot water, but you cannot have everything," one of the officers commented.

A year ago, when some 30 senior officers, junior officers, and sergeants arrived in Luanda, this first group was

divided between the Hotel Tivoli and quarters that the embassy maintained for cooperants. Only months later, when the Hotel Imperio was ready, were they installed there permanently. Two computers serve to process all of the information necessary to structure the Angolan Armed Forces and all the data on the restriction of the government and UNITA troops to bases.

More than one, it has been the Portuguese who have established the locus between the positions of the former Angolan belligerents. These 50 men and another 100 men in the rest of the country have built a new army, a new air force, and a new navy from scratch, with a completely different ideology from that of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] or of Savimbi's guerrillas.

Instructors for the new armed forces have already left Huambo, and others are in the final phase of training. Instructors for the Air Force and the Navy will come out of Cabo Ledo. In Luanda, professors at the Institute of Advanced Military Studies in Pedroucos, have conducted seminars for general staff officers of the Armed Forces of Angola, while the other officers, even sergeants, linked to the support sectors are teaching classes in military administration, accounting, computer technology, etc.

There were rivalries, particularly in the beginning. According to Angolan sources, whereas the French and English sought to impose models, the Portuguese summoned up great patience and wavered on letting the Angolans find their own path. "They know the Angolan country and its circumstances as well as we do. There is no resentment about the colonial war, that is already long past," stressed an [Angolan] source who requested anonymity because he had no "authorization from above" to make any statements. As a matter of fact, these are statements that, in themselves, would seem to come from the Portuguese Army General Staff.

At the end of the empire, the Portuguese Armed Forces replaced expeditions with missions. The first and most important one was undoubtedly Angola, a land that no one who had been there had forgotten and for which there had always remained a nostalgia for the wide open spaces of the savannah. When they arrived, they did not know how they would be received by the former IN (the technical designation for the enemy), but they found that the former IN had more respect for them than for the orators who had never set foot on Angola's trails. "It was simply a matter of solidarity with someone who holds the same rank and has learned to respect it," commented the same Angolan officer. "We owed a debt to this land," Portuguese officers declare unanimously.

Some of them have not been with their families for more than six months, and they often work more than 12 hours a day. "My wife has already asked me if we are going to Mozambique next," joked one of the lieutenant colonels, in the middle of "attacking" a slab of cheese and some bottles of red wine that had just arrived from

Lisbon. The others protested, but in the end no one was vehemently opposed to the idea.

However, almost all of them display the posture common to diplomats and military officers when they respond to questions about what they would like to do after this mission, in which they have "founded" an armed force. "I will do whatever the Army orders me to do," is the general response. At bottom, however, what the future has in store for them after the restructuring of the Portuguese Armed Forces is still in doubt.

Mozambique

Delegation Heads Discuss Future Army in Rome

MB2507102592 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 0900 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] The heads of the government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] delegations to the Rome peace talks yesterday held what they described as an informal meeting in an attempt to overcome differences on the future national army and the future of the security service. Chief mediator Mario Raffaelli said meetings between the heads of the two delegations have become a normal practice, used when positions need to be clarified and whenever there is an apparent impasse on principled issues. The heads of the government and Renamo military subdelegations also attended the meeting.

Mediators Question Chissano-Dhlakama Meeting

MB2507140992 Maputo Radio Maputo in English
1100 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] The Italian Government and the Catholic Church mediators to the Rome talks between the Mozambican Government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels are visibly embarrassed at the prospect of a meeting in Italy between Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama. The Maputo independent daily publication, MEDIAFAX, quoted its correspondent in Rome as saying the meeting will take place on the mediators' ground, but outside their control, and they are trying to find out exactly what is going on.

It says that observers in Rome doubt whether the conditions necessary for a face-to-face meeting between President Chissano and the Renamo leader have already been created. MEDIAFAX correspondent quoted sources close to the Rome talks as believing that the decision was too drastic. Since there are still major differences at the negotiating table, it is feared this meeting may not produce any decisions.

Prime Minister on Economic Recovery Program

MB2507154092 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] Prime Minister Mario Machungo has described as positive the results achieved in the implementation of

the Economic Rehabilitation Program [PRE]. The program was launched in 1987 to end a series of macroeconomic and sectorial imbalances facing the Mozambican economy since the early 1980's.

[Being Machungo recording] The measures adopted within the framework of the PRE enabled us, above all, to reverse the declining production levels. Thus, in the first three years of the implementation of the program, we achieved an average production growth rate of about 5 percent per year, while in 1990 and 1991, we had lower production growth rates of 1.3 and 0.9 percent, respectively.

We achieved good results at a time when our economy was at a low ebb in different sectors of activity, with low production levels in the fields of agriculture, industry, and fisheries; an almost inoperative trade sector; and practically paralyzed construction, transportation, and communications sectors. Accordingly, the agricultural sector attained production growth rates of about 7 percent or more in 1987-88 and 4 percent in 1989. The industrial sector achieved production growth rates of between 7 and 9 percent. The transportation sector reached a 10-percent growth rate in 1989, while the trade sector reached an average growth rate of between 4 and 4.5 percent. [end recording]

* Drought Situation in Various Regions Reported

* Gaza Province

92AF0952A Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese 24 May 92 pp 14-21

[Article by Arnaldo Henrique: "Food and Water"]

[Text] Between the drought and war, Mozambicans living south of the Zambezi River have little to look forward to other than further agony: If they escape from the enemy's bullets and broadswords, they die of hunger and thirst....

It is early afternoon on May 7. In Chongoene, a little more than 20 km northeast of the Gaza city of Xai-Xai, the heat is so intense that one cannot believe that the cold season is almost half over. Sevelina Macie, an elderly woman who seems to be about 60 years old, is sitting at one end of her patio. From the time she arose in the morning until now, she has had only one meal, which consisted of a handful of cooked "mafurra" pasta, as she indicated with a wave of her hand. As well as being the first meal of the day, this food will be the only sustenance received in the next 24 hours. Moreover, the remaining portion of her food supply will have to last more than a week even if consumed in still smaller amounts.

Uttering a profound sigh, the elderly Sevelina went on to say: "I do not know how we shall survive this year...." She interrupts her thought and engages in a moment of deep meditation.

In the village of Maciene in the straw-thatched hut in which the elderly woman resides, all of the collective farms are experiencing the same situation—extreme drought. Here and there, patches of green can be seen wasting away—small plantings of manioc being utterly destroyed by the "cachonilha" [a type of insect]. This plague has deprived the people of "matapa" and manioc, products that in former periods of drought constituted a safeguard against natural calamities of this sort.

Sevelina Macie interrupts her meditation to greet other villagers passing in the street. Those individuals, by their own admission, are coming from the "placa," the notorious hideouts in the jungle to which the people resort when fleeing from the brutalities of the war. They are loaded down with piles of clothing and blankets, and they are further laden with household items and hoes. "This is the second consecutive year without rain," says Sevelina.

In the latter part of April, it rained hard in Maciene and other parts of Chongoene. However, the little amount of humidity encountered as a result of the intense heat caused the moisture in the soil to vanish pretty quickly. Unfortunately, despite the reasonable amount of rain, the hardship experienced by the people continued as a result of further drought and eventually depleted the storehouses and granaries, including the seeds set aside for future crops.

The corn crops, as well as other harvests, were almost zero in Maciene. The drought is so extensive that "one can hardly find the 'n'cacana' or common sweet potato in the fields," says Monica Bucanhane Muchathe.

Due to their resistance to drought, "n'cacana" and sweet potatoes have been a vital resource in circumstances associated with calamities of this type.

On 6 May nearly all of the inhabitants of Maciene slept in the jungle after being attacked by a group of armed men stationed in this area. The attackers killed two individuals in the Chilenguene area and one in the N'Gangalene region after stealing many head of cattle. There were no classes at the local high school on 7 May because most of the students had not yet returned from the "placa."

Trail of the Devil

The entire province of Gaza finds itself under the mantle of drought. In the Xai-Xai district, where under normal conditions precipitation reaches 600 mm per year, by the second week of May it had rained only 138 mm. "And after these drizzles, the temperature reached as much as 36 to 44 degrees Celsius," says Eugenio Numaio, governor of Gaza. In 1983, the maximum temperature reported was 41 degrees.

Gaza has an estimated population of 1.2 million inhabitants. As of now, more than half of that number are suffering from the direct effects of the drought and war.

Where the waters of the Limpopo River flowed, there is now a dried up, cracked sandy surface extending from the confluent of the Limpopo with the Elephant River to Phafuri on the border with Zimbabwe, a distance of more than 200 km. The trickle of water that one sees from the south of Mabalane district to Xai-Xai comes from the lagoon located at Massingir Dam.

Everything is satisfactory in the District of Chicualacuala. The people subsist on the roots of forest vegetation: These are dug up, debarked and left to dry in the sun. They are then pounded down like any grain and cooked. Under normal conditions, these roots are not considered as food.

Most of the people of Chicualacuala live along the corridor of the Limpopo because of the (chimerical) safety it provides. However, the Limpopo River is not confined to that corridor.... The Chicualacuala water supply was previously being handled by railroad from Zimbabwe, but Zimbabwe subsequently canceled that arrangement, being likewise subject to the effects of the drought. Now the water-supply train originates in Chokwe, a distance of about 300 km.

Until March, of this year emergency food assistance was concentrated in Gaza Province, particularly in the districts of the interior—Massangena, Chicualacuala and Mabalane. Other districts were aided in the form of cashews, "canhus," and pineapples, to which people could resort to alleviate their hunger. Currently, however, the lack of food is extreme and is affecting the entire Gaza territory.

By the end of March the number of displaced persons had increased from 130,000 to 260,000.

With regard to the Chokwe plantation, the biggest in the southern area of Mozambique, plans are being prepared to produce 30,000 tons of rice. "According to the April forecast, only 6,000 tons were scheduled to be produced as a safe minimum. I doubt that we shall now achieve that objective," said Eugenio Numaio on 8 May. "The drought is so extreme that we expect to have to close the irrigation facilities to attempt to retain the small quantity of moisture still remaining with regard to the sweet-potato crop," he said.

Malnutrition and thirst have already resulted in deaths in the areas of Banhine, Nhamavila, and the northern part of Mandlakazi District. All of the water sources—rivers, creeks, and wells—are devoid of water. Even wells at a depth of 50 to 60 meters do not show signs of a single drop. The Changane and Mazimuhlope Rivers "have completely disappeared."

The spread and intensification of starvation have resulted in an increase in armed attacks, with regard to both the emergency-supply vehicles and the villages themselves. The activity that is locally referred to as Renamo II [Mozambique National Resistance II] and that is devoted essentially to armed raids involving the theft of cattle has continued to increase.

The Gaza governor asserts that without outside help, more than 70 percent of the people in his province would succumb. He stresses the lack of rain, food, and drinkable water as the principal causes of this situation. "There are lakes that have not dried up for several decades but that are now without water. And the next rainy season will not begin before October," he stressed.

National Catastrophe

All the streams between the cities of Xai-Xai and Chimioio are completely dried up. From the air, one can see only gray streaks where water once flowed. The Save and Buzi Rivers do not have even a trickle in any part of their river beds.

In Espungabera, in the District of Mossurize, Manica, the last rain fell in October of last year, amounting to only 14 mm. Of the 20,000 people who inhabit this administrative post, 17,000 are affected by the drought, according to information furnished in March by Filipe Sitoi, head of this outpost. For all of these people, there was a stock of 60 tons of grain in the warehouses of the DPCCN [Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters].

An attempt is being made to develop the lower areas where there is still moisture left to grow garden plants. All of the plantings of corn, millet, and beans are burned up. Of these crops, nothing has been produced of any consequence. In Espungabera, as in Gaza, the rainy season begins in October. Thus, in the case of a rain of reasonable proportions, according to Paulino Elias, 61 years old, not until April of the following year can one expect to achieve any harvest. "Until then we shall continue to live from food given in the form of charity," he said.

According to Albino Saul, of Manica's Emergency Committee (CEM), this province experienced a total break in its food reserves. Meanwhile, unless food stocks are urgently replaced, the starvation situation will become alarmingly widespread.

Railway connection between Espungabera and Chimioio is only possible via Zimbabwe. But this alternative involves great expense, with the introduction by the Zimbabwean authorities of a transit tax per vehicle, which can only be paid in Harare.

In the District of Sussundenga the same desolate situation prevails: extensive fields with all the seedings burned up. The wells and springs have long ago ceased to provide any water. In the village of Nhambamba II, which essentially shelters repatriots from Zimbabwe and displaced persons from Dombe, the only water pump provided by the Nucleus of Support for Refugees [NAR] has insufficient capacity for the 165 families existing in that locality. Many individuals are forced to drink contaminated water from the Nhambamba River.

According to allegations made by many people, the distribution of food given and received by many families

in Nhambamba II leaves much to be desired. A tin can—more or less 20 kg—is filled with corn and is distributed to each family, despite the number of individuals in the family. This is to last one or two months. When possible, there is a type of bean concoction that is distributed one glass at a time to each member of a family. "This serves no useful purpose," deplored Maria Manhica.

People are accusing the administrator, the head of Dombe's administrative post, and other officials connected with the difficult handling of the food allocations of diverting the food to their own use rather than to the people. They assert that the deputy administrator is venturing to do all he can to circumvent any irregularities in the distribution of emergency products. It was not possible to refute the legitimacy of these accusations on the part of the Sussundenga administration itself.

According to Filipe Jeremias, 51 years of age, at the end of last year, 38 people died of starvation and thirst on the road to Nhambamba. They were coming from Dombe, a distance of about 75 km. They were fleeing from armed attacks.

Filipe Jeremias lost four of his five children in an attack on Dombe in 1990. The other child was kidnapped. They burned the house and 1,500 contos he had been saving. In fleeing from Dombe, he buried another 400 contos that he had earned from the sale of agricultural products and tinsmithing.

Along the Beira Corridor, at a distance of more than 150 km, all the plantations are completely dried up. The flow of the Pungoe River is greatly reduced. In Nhamatanda, the local center for the reception of war refugees, five to 20 people are received daily. They arrive mainly from the Renamo bases in Gorongosa, Chitause, Chikwato, and Coruja. Meanwhile in Buzi, others die along the road, victims of bullets or cutlasses, and also of starvation and thirst. The circle is terribly closed....

Mozambique Needs Additional Nutritional Aid

The food deficit in Mozambique in 1993 is estimated to be 1.2 million tons of grain. Of this amount, the country can cover only about 6 percent through commercial imports. This information was given May 13 by Prime Minister Mario Machungo in an appeal to the international community to provide additional assistance to the latest victims of drought in Mozambique.

"The current drought could be considered the worst disaster in Mozambique's memory, threatening to reach incalculable dimensions and consequences among the people and the country's economy," said Mario Machungo.

At the end of 1991 the government estimated that it would take 976,000 tons of grain to satisfy Mozambique's nutritional requirements. Of this quantity, 267,000 tons would be allocated free-of-charge to the

people most affected by the drought. The remaining 709,000 tons would be distributed through commercial channels.

In view of this situation, during the 1992-93 period Mozambique will need a level of nutritional assistance significantly greater than that previously anticipated. According to Mario Machungo, this is due to the seriousness of the situation and the extent of the catastrophe that is afflicting the country, where the expected agricultural production this year will not exceed 30 percent of the normal.

Recent estimates made by technical missions created by the government and UN agencies indicate almost a total loss on the part of the agricultural crops located in the central and southern areas of Mozambique, where the average rainfall was less than 30 percent of normal.

The current drought in Mozambique is causing mass movements among the people, impelling them toward the urban areas and displaced-person centers, which are already overcrowded. The prime minister said that this situation has particularly affected a group of people who are already extremely vulnerable, having lived for a number of years as war victims, undergoing conditions involving serious nutritional hardship.

It is estimated that 3.1 million people are living under emergency conditions in Mozambique.

"One of the challenges facing us is the logistic and organizational capability of determining to what extent the most needy people may benefit from the assistance so badly required for their survival," Mario Machungo went on to say.

*** Morrumeu District**

92AF0952B Maputo *TEMPO* in Portuguese 24 May 92
pp 20-21

[Article by Arnaldo Henrique: "Morrumeu: The Land Is Dried Up"]

[Text] The current agricultural campaign is under commitment by Morrumeu District in view of the drought and war that are desolating that area of Sofala Province.

About 40,000 people are being seriously affected by starvation in that part of the country. If emergency aid is not provided urgently, this scourge could result in many deaths.

Joao Olece is a peasant living in the residential section of Miande, about 12 km from the village of Morrumeu. He expressed concern over the manner in which agricultural activity is being carried out in that residential area: "The land is dried up."

In justifying this situation, our interviewee said that at a time when this is considered the rainy season in Morromeu, extreme heat has burned up all the seedlings of various crops, especially corn, "mexoeira," rice, and millet.

"From last November until now, Morromeu District has been living in a truly hot and dry period with a wind that makes the area a veritable dust bowl. One has the impression that the rain is about to fall, but this does not happen," said our interviewee with disappointment.

According to that same spokesman, with the corn and "mexoeira" crops decimated, the peasants pinned their hopes on the rice and millet. But here again, the crops were spoiled by the effects of natural calamities.

Presently, Marromeu District is tackling problems associated with the scarcity of available land for agricultural purposes, the war having seriously restricted the use of tillable area.

The northern Sofala district, with 5,810 square km of surface area, formerly a producer of corn, rice, "mexoeira," millet, and other agricultural products considered predominant in that area, is devoid of almost everything due to the war, a situation that is exacerbated by the drought and is causing further interference in the raising of crops for family consumption.

Many Peasants, Few Islands

Due to the drought that in recent years has greatly devastated Morromeu District, many peasants of that area have chosen to set up their collective farms on islands in the Zambezi River to alleviate the negative effects of the climatic situation.

However, the islands existing in the Zambezi River are quite limited in size with regard to the needs of the Marromeu peasants. This has caused disputes among the inhabitants of certain neighborhoods—namely, the Kenneth Kuanda, Mateus Sansao Muthemba, 7 April, 1 May, and 25 June (Chueza).

Those inhabitants also set up their farms along the banks and lower areas of the Zambezi to take advantage of the fertility offered by that great African river.

The insufficiency of cultivated land on the Zambezi islands also limits the size of the collective farms and this, in turn, results in a drastic drop in food production.

Weak food production due to the lack of sufficient land for agriculture has caused even further starvation in the district because many inhabitants have become completely unproductive.

Food production in Zambezi's islets tends to decrease in view of small floods that often overflow and interfere with the crops being cultivated by the local people.

The Marromeu peasants are especially involved in the production of sweet potatoes and manioc, crops considered resistant to drought.

Few Peasants, Many Mouths

A total of 12,048 people are participating in agricultural activities in Marromeu out of the approximately 42,000 inhabitants of that Sofala district.

It is estimated that 30,000 inhabitants are considered unproductive due to the war that greatly reduced the agricultural area of that part of the country.

Formerly, areas considered productive, such as Kuama, Maviga, Salone, Nhaganze, Migugune, Pambane, and others, have now been deserted because of the war.

The war that devastated Marromeu District at the beginning of the 1980's confined the peasants to the periphery of the village. Many were kidnapped and conducted to areas controlled by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] (Bauaze, Nhamitete, Kuama, and certain areas of Luabo-Zambezia).

Nhanvu, No Longer a District Warehouse

The District of Nhanvu, popularly known as Safrique, has ceased to serve as the warehouse for Marromeu District due to the war, which has been impeding the agricultural activity.

Under these conditions approximately 3,000 people find themselves in danger of starvation in that area of Sofala.

This information was given to us recently by Joao Acuriatepa Limane, first secretary of the committee of circle "F," which embraces the districts of Nhanvu, Vila Nova, and Nhangozue, saying that the question is of great concern. According to our spokesman, in the District of Nhanvu (Safrique) the peasants are particularly concerned with the cultivation of crops predominant in that area: millet, corn, rice, "mexoeira," sweet potatoes, and others.

According to our source, in good agricultural years, the Nhanvu peasants sell their excess produce to the residents of Vila and other individuals.

Again according to our interviewee, with the further outbreak of armed conflict against the people of Safrique instigated by Renamo, agricultural activity in that area began to decrease drastically, since the peasants did not have time to engage in that endeavor.

"If the rains come in great quantity, it might still be possible to revitalize the rice and millet crops," said our spokesman.

*** Sofala Province**

92AF0952C Maputo *TEMPO* in Portuguese 24 May 92
pp 22-27

[Article by Inacio Laissone: "Four Years Without Rain"]

[Text] The drought that is affecting the entire southern area of Africa with catastrophic consequences for Mozambique, already the victim of other calamities, is now seriously threatening the lives of 442,602 people in Sofala Province. The local government is taking steps to alleviate the side effects of this period of drought, the only salvation being to receive assistance from the international community.

The 1991-92 agricultural campaign in the central province of Sofala had been prepared with enthusiasm by the participants in the hope of obtaining results which could lead to a reduction of the province's dependence on products donated by the international community to rescue the victims of calamities plaguing our country. With regard to this particular harvest, the agrarian sector had planned the production of various crops in an area of 41,103.5 hectares.

However, that perspective was seriously offset by the combined action of a number of negative climatic effects. Information obtained by the local government authorities indicate that 10,323 hectares were lost in this campaign, corresponding to about 8,635 tons of various crops. The effects of the present dry spell could be determined by the fact that the peasants of both the family and business sectors took great pains to obtain good results and yet were unable to achieve success.

It is a situation that is beginning to assume alarming proportions, since, in the words of Nhamucale Luis Machache, a private producer operating along the banks of the Pungue River, "even the peasants who normally achieve something now find themselves with nothing." The catastrophic situation involving the drought in Sofala Province was likewise confirmed by Antonio Esteve Romola, head of the emergency nucleus in the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture [DPA].

Of the total area planned for harvesting crops, only 3,780.5 hectares are doubtfully considered usable. "At this moment the drought situation appears critical and will likely become worse inasmuch as the greatly reduced amount of rain did not keep pace with the vegetative cycle of the plants," said Antonio Romola. He then went on to say that this is a situation that is seriously threatening the lives of 442,602 people throughout the province. This figure is actually in error inasmuch as the number of victims of this calamity is increasing from day-to-day.

The first seedlings of the current agricultural campaign were all lost and the second seriously damaged. According to the head of the emergency nucleus of the DPA, the insignificant amount of rain recorded for the period extending from December of last year until March of this year also interfered with the production of garden-variety vegetables, "since there was a shortage of water even for the preparation of the plant nurseries."

Survival Dependent on Donations

The drought situation in Sofala Province is catastrophic in general, but it is still more critical in the districts located to the south. Machanga and Chibabava rank first, since, as stated by Antonio Romola, it has been four consecutive years that almost no rain has fallen in those regions. The people produce almost nothing for their own consumption, and their survival is dependent on nutritional aid from the charitable international community, which is channeled there irregularly. No prospect is expected with regard to the agricultural market and subsequent harvest in Sofala Province this year, even though plans were made to cultivate 667 tons of various products."

A Few Measures

The worst drought in anyone's memory in the past 50 years is occurring at a time when our country is concerned with serious problems resulting from the war which has been devastating the territory for little more than a decade and a half. Measures to alleviate the side effects of this dry spell depend upon the aid that the Mozambique Government will be receiving from the charitable international community.

In Sofala Province, the government authorities have already contemplated a series of measures designed to combat the effects of the drought. Among these is the allocation of emergency funds for family victims already identified. In addition and according to Antonio Romola, certain areas have now been identified where it is possible, with emergency aid, to plant a number of seedlings.

This is particularly true of the northern part of Sofala Province and applies specifically to the districts of Chemba, Caia, Morrumeu, and the Administrative Post of Sena. In these areas agricultural production is practicable in the fertile land located on the banks of the Zambeze River, and the productivity in these areas requires only the use of elementary knowledge and the availability of agricultural tools supplied to the participants.

"With regard to the central and southern parts of the province, the possibility of planting new seedlings is rather remote," said the head of the NE of the DPA in Sofala, contending that the large rivers in these areas have waterfalls which are pretty low, making it impossible to retain much moisture.

With respect to these areas and in the opinion of the local authorities, one hypothesis that could facilitate the execution of the agricultural activity would be the use of an irrigation system. Meanwhile, discussion will also center around certain difficulties of an equipment nature, since many peasants do not have such equipment.

Along the banks of the Pungue River, whose waterfall is greatly reduced, the peasants and private agriculturists who carry on their agricultural activities, find themselves

in difficulty. As in many areas of the country seriously affected by the drought, the first seedlings were lost. "The only alternative at this time is to attempt to produce every kind of garden vegetables and other crops that do not require much water," said Nhamucale Machache, referring to those plants which develop in conjunction with wells or sprinklers.

Until last March when we visited the vicinity of the Pungue River, all of the cornfields containing the first seedlings planted there and attempting to grow despite the dearth of rain were completely dried up. Only the garden-type vegetables showed patches of green, the peasants having taken advantage of the river water to provide a certain amount of irrigation. "It is a very difficult system inasmuch as we do not have the necessary equipment," said Joana Andisseni, a private producer in the Pungue area residing in Dondo.

Even in the situation involving the scarcity of rain and with the waters of the Pungue subsiding, the growers have made plans to plant new seedlings; but everything depends on the rainfall. The big "Achilles' heel" for the peasants of the Pungue area is the lack of support on the part of the organizations associated with the agricultural sector, which does not make it possible for the growers to use all their capabilities. "No one furnishes us with the necessary agricultural equipment," said Joana Andisseni. She then asked the government's help in studying ways to help the growers increase their productive activities.

Starvation and Nudity

Again along the banks of the Pungue River, but not only there, the peasant population residing in this area is faced with a serious food crisis. Moreover, according to local observers, starvation is the true concern of the people who are in dire financial straits. For example, a tin cup of corn flour costs 500 meticaïs, and a 20 kg container of the same product comes to about 10,000 meticaïs.

Most of the peasants survive by consuming sweet potatoes, squash, and other vegetables in addition to jungle roots and fruits. They are driven to this condition, since no provision is yet being contemplated by the international community regarding emergency products to be made available to our country to aid the victims of calamities.

The effects of the drought are exacerbated by the shortage of clothing among the peasant population. Massalani Campira is an elderly woman residing in the

village of Massassa in the vicinity of Dondo. Her rice paddy is located near National Highway 6. Her major concern is a lack of clothing, for she has no money. "We produce only what we consume and sell nothing," said Massalani Campira, who, in addition to her rice paddy, devotes as much time as possible to the cultivation of corn and millet.

Lastly, in Pungue, Beira, and other parts of Sofala Province, the specter of starvation and drought is similar, although there are slight differences. The provincial government is undertaking coordinated action with national and international humanitarian institutions as well as with nongovernment organizations to garner any kind of support possible to alleviate the plight of the people affected by the drought.

Despite this condition, the crisis resulting from the current drought is serious inasmuch as the rivers and their tributaries, wells, and well drillings are drying up and condemning thousands of people to extreme thirst. "The Pungue River and its tributaries are drying up and the provincial government will have to find an alternative to minimize the problem of the lack of water on the part of the residents of Beira and its outlying districts," Governor Francisco Masquil was quoted as saying during the celebration of 1 May, International Labor Day.

Zimbabwe

Mugabe Criticizes 'Desperate' Opposition Parties
MB2507142992 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe has denounced and described black opposition parties in Zimbabwe as desperate in their approach to topple his government by teaming up with former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith. Mr Mugabe was addressing a rally in a small coal mining town south of Harare as part of his meet-the-people tour.

He said the announcement of a planned united front of opposition parties in Zimbabwe was nothing but a desperate move. A meeting of some of Zimbabwe's opposition parties, which was chaired by Mr. Ian Smith, was attended by ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union] leader Ndabaningi Sithole and representatives of the Zimbabwe Unity Movement, the United African National Congress, and the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe Unity Movement leader Edgar Tekere has denied that his party has agreed to form an opposition alliance against President Mugabe.

Ivory Coast

Malian President Arrives on Visit, Comments

AB2507201592 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 1900 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Text] The Malian head of state arrived in Abidjan this afternoon for a 48-hour friendly working visit. Mr. Alpha Oumar Konare was welcomed at the airport by Ivorian Prime Minister Alassane Dramane Ouattara, accompanied by several government members. Mr. Alpha Oumar Konare, who is on his first visit to the Ivory Coast since assuming office a few weeks ago, was accompanied by his closest aides, including the diplomatic affairs adviser. Soon after his arrival, the Malian president answered questions from reporters, explaining, among other things, the purpose of his visit:

[Begin recording] [Konare] This is the first time I have come to Abidjan as head of state. I say first time as head of state because this is probably my 15th, 20th, or 30th visit. For Malians, the Ivory Coast and Mali are one and the same country. I have had the opportunity to meet President Houphouet-Boigny several times already. Therefore, it is normal that at this crucial stage in the life of our country and subregion that would I come and talk to him on issues of common interest to our two countries, the subregion, and the whole of Africa, so to speak.

[Unidentified reporter] Concerning your country, Mr. President, everyone knows that for the past several months, or we can say several years, certain pressing problems have been disturbing Mali's political, economic, and social life. I mean in particular the problem in the north of your country. What are you doing to end this situation once and for all?

[Konare] These problems are expected. We expected these difficulties. On 11 April, we signed a national pact with our Movement friends which marked the end of the hostilities. Of course, peace cannot be attained in one day. It is a painstaking task, but I do not doubt that in the coming weeks and months Mali will become one in its diversity, because the whole issue at stake today is building a united country made up of various ethnic groups, demonstrating in all aspects greater discipline in our management, and providing all Malians a good government, more justice, and more solidarity. Being democrats, we have all basically agreed on that. We do not think that the new context calls for taking up weapons to settle political problems. We stand for dialogue. The national pact is in place. All we have to do now is to develop and implement it. I repeat, we are in a peaceful mode, but peace is sought everyday and in our case, it will be achieved, I am convinced.

[Reporter] Your first official visit to the Ivory Coast comes at a time when democrats have been imprisoned. How do you feel about that?

[Konare] I think there is a process under way in the Ivory Coast. I am convinced that it will evolve, as has been the

case for the past several months, in the interest of all the Ivorian people. I am convinced that all the Ivorian political leaders will work to find the appropriate solution that will enable the Ivory Coast to remain the great country it is.

[Reporter] The Malian Treasury was recently hit by a financial scandal. One of your ministers was even forced to resign. What are your comments about that?

[Konare] We wanted a change on 26 March. This change cannot be brought about by merely replacing individuals or teams. We must change work methods. For decades, we have been victims of mismanagement in many sectors. You spoke just now of the treasury. But a few years ago, it was the banking sector and postal checks which, of course, some very sly ones managed to flee—it seems that we should not say this, instead, let us say embezzle—to the tune of nearly 6 billion CFA francs, just by issuing bad checks. It is certain that we cannot aspire to sound management, more justice, and more solidarity as long as situations like these are not corrected. The minister who resigned committed no crimes while performing his duties. It just so happens that his company had benefited from this situation a few months ago. It seemed unacceptable to us that this minister, who admitted the fact, should remain a government member. This frees Mr. Younoussi Toure's government to carry its duties correctly to the end because our aim is to stamp out mismanagement, or at least to reduce it to the barest minimum and to avoid the corruption that will prevent us from settling the key problems we face, particularly the problem of unemployed youth. You know, it is hard to ask for assistance when there are certain existing situations that you cannot resolve. It is a simply right to be at peace with oneself.

[Reporter] Your aim before assuming office was to provide a measure of humanity to the structural adjustment. This seems to have run into a few difficulties. What is the position actually?

[Konare] Run into a few difficulties? Well, situations do not change overnight. Initially, the structural adjustment program was rigid, but over the past few years the social dimension has been taken into account. We did not want the program to be implemented in the same way everywhere because political contexts vary. In our case, there are measures that we accept, but they have to be implemented over a longer period. In other words, it might take two years to implement certain programs which we expected to implement in six months. So our negotiations will center on this implementation period for some programs, and what we also wanted—not for those programs, but in the months ahead when we will be dealing with other programs—was for our officials to demonstrate a greater sense of initiative, because we blame a lot on others but we too have weaknesses. When we do not have alternative solutions to suggest, then of course we are bound to endure the dictates of others. There too, we need to change. I think there is another aspect: We are a government, and we negotiate with

partners. There are businessmen who today are our key partners. It is necessary to take their views into account in the impending negotiations. These are suggestions we are going to make to our partners, and I am convinced that the austerity requirements which prop up these various programs are a must today to allow economic recovery in our countries.

[Reporter] There is also the empty chair policy adopted by some parliament members following the election of the National Assembly speaker.

[Konare] That took just enough time to register a protest, after which the parliament members resumed their seats. Perhaps, this will happen now and then, but that is also a normal aspect of democracy. As long as there is a majority which can assert itself while constantly seeking to respect the opinion of the minority, democracy will thrive in Mali. [end recording]

Assesses Visit's Results

AB2607200092 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 0700 GMT 26 Jul 92

[Excerpt] Malian President Alpha Oumar Konare rounded up his visit to the Ivory Coast yesterday after meeting his compatriots living in our country. The highlight of his friendly, working visit was his meeting earlier with President Houphouet-Boigny. The meeting, which lasted a little over two hours, touched on good-neighborliness and subregional issues. These questions will be examined by the 14th [as heard] Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] summit, which President Konare and his host, President Houphouet-Boigny, will attend. Before leaving Abidjan yesterday afternoon for Dakar, the Malian head of state was interviewed by journalists. He first spoke of the contents of his talks with President Houphouet-Boigny.

[Begin recording] [Konare] Our talks were very fruitful and useful. They are evidence of the excellent relations between Mali and the Ivory Coast, two brotherly countries of long standing. Now that regional integration is much talked about, I think that Mali and the Ivory Coast are really doing the right thing. In any case, as I am about to leave for Dakar, I am very happy about our talks here, both on bilateral and subregional questions.

[Unidentified reporter] The Malian community in Ivory Coast is composed of some 800,000 people. What do you expect of them in the context of new prospects in Mali?

[Konare] First, I am satisfied with the reception given to them here in the Ivory Coast. Yesterday, I said when you leave Mali and come to the Ivory Coast, you do not have the feeling that you are in a different country. The Malians here form a strong bond between Mali and the Ivory Coast. We would like them to remain closely united despite their current political differences resulting from our free choice of multiparty democracy. We also expect them to continue to serve as custodians of the excellent relations between Mali and the Ivory Coast.

Indeed, the democratic Mali will not be built without the appropriate involvement of this community. The democratic Mali is considering the establishment of dual nationality. One does not need to live in Mali to serve it. On this basis, Malians abroad will enjoy the new citizenship in prospect, because we all wish to enjoy a new type of citizenship. We have one, but would like to extend it. That is how we want to treat Malians living abroad.

Meanwhile, the democratic Mali has decided to unleash the sense of initiative so that Malians abroad will also freely contribute meaningfully to Mali. I have also expressed a deep hope, namely that Malians will, through their daily behavior, exemplify our policies. Well-behaved Malians—like those here—will show the excellent relations between our two countries. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Bill on Repression of Violence Adopted

AB2607180092 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 22 Jul 92 p 2, 3

[Laman Baklayoko report]

[Excerpt] At the end of a National Assembly session that lasted from 1600 to 2000, the General and Institutional Affairs Committee unanimously adopted the "bill on repression of certain forms of violence," presented by Mrs. Jacqueline Lohoues-Oble, minister of justice and keeper of the seals. The committee members, however, requested and obtained the outright cancellation of Article 4.

The essential thing to remember, as the minister stressed, is that the new law aims at protecting the democratic practice by curtailing possible excesses committed during demonstrations. In fact, within two years of multiparty politics, about 20 cases of vandalism, with very negative financial effects, have marked our country's political life. To buttress this assertion, one must remember 4 December 1991 when demonstrators erected roadblocks to prevent deputies from attending a National Assembly session or again the 18 February incidents rightly termed "Black Tuesday." [passage omitted]

Opposition's Reaction to President's Speech Noted

AB2407181692 Paris AFP in English 1715 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Excerpts] Abidjan, July 24 (AFP)—President Felix Houphouet-Boigny Friday ordered an amnesty for opposition leaders and students jailed in Ivory Coast after widespread demonstrations here in February. [passage omitted]

The announcement Friday was bitterly welcomed by members of [Laurent] Gbagbo's Ivorian People's Front

(IPF), whose interim general secretary, Abuo Drahamane Sangare, called for the government's resignation. He said "other measures must follow to ensure the continued easing of tensions, notably the resignation of the government."

The IPF suggested the president's announcement was designed to short circuit the appeal, already underway, of Gbagbo and 13 co-defendants because Houphouet-Boigny "knew that the democrats were going to be freed by the court," said IPF lawyer Emile Boga. The parliamentary vote to approve the amnesty is seen as a mere formality since 165 deputies are members of the ruling Ivory Coast Democratic Party of Houphouet-Boigny while only 10 are opposition members. The amnesty measure had been expected since the 86-year-old president's return on June 20 from a five-month private stay in Europe.

Liberia

Rumors of ECOMOG Troop Withdrawal Denied

AB2407145092 London BBC World Service
in English 1830 GMT 23 Jul 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] For some weeks now, there have been reports of escalating fighting in Liberia between Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] and anti-Taylor ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy] forces. Skirmishing has been going on in Grand Cape Mount County, near the Sierra Leone border, and in Lofa County. Well, it is all of a bit of a fly in the ointment for ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] that is trying to oversee the peace process and ECOMOG itself has been accused of not doing enough to stop the conflict and even of pulling out of the conflict zone altogether. But for the moment, at least, this seems as being a bit of a breather. From Monrovia, Klon Hine faxed this report.

[Begin studio announcer recording] Quoting reports from ECOMOG units stationed in Cape Mount County, ECOMOG field commander General Bakut said that today there had been no fighting between the NPFL and ULIMO in the area. However, since ECOMOG has no troops deployed in lower Lofa County, the general was not able to comment on the situation there.

The general denied reports that ECOMOG was carrying out a full-scale withdrawal from NPFL-controlled areas. He said that the current movement of ECOMOG troops was part of the normal military procedure of rotating troops. He added that the time had come for the Nigerian contingent of ECOMOG troops to rotate since these soldiers had overstayed their six-month tour of duty. Gen. Bakut said the soldiers needed to go home to see their families. According to the General, 4,000 Nigerian soldiers are due to be replaced shortly. [end recording]

ECOMOG, NPFL Hold Discussions on Disarmament

AB2407153592 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Text] Discussions have been taking place in Monrovia between the West African peacekeeping force ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, the NPFL. The talks, according to ECOMOG field commander Ishaya Bakut, are centered around the encampment, disarmament, and demobilization program. The program, General Bakut (?said), was intended to facilitate the implementation of the disarmament process that caused the most problems. The ECOMOG field commander said previous programs had been without any consultations, thus creating difficulties at the time of implementation.

Gen. Bakut expressed the hope that the disarmament program now [word indistinct] will be one where all parties concerned are committed to implementing when it finally comes out. On reports of unilateral disarmament and demobilization of fighters of the NPFL by the front, the field commander said [words indistinct] must be done under the supervision of the peacekeeping force in keeping with the Yamoussoukro IV Accord.

Nigeria

Ugandan President Museveni Continues Visit

Leaders Tour Refinery

AB2507085092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 0600 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, accompanied by General Ibrahim Babangida, yesterday paid a one-day visit to Rivers State. The two leaders toured the Port Harcourt refinery where the minister of petroleum and mineral resources, Dr. Chu Okongwu, told them that plans were underway to increase Nigeria's oil reserves from 16 to 20 billion barrels by 1995. By the same date, it is expected that the country's production capacity will be increased to 2.5 million barrels daily from the present 1.8 million barrels per day. Dr. Okongwu also announced that consideration was being given to the establishment of another refinery to bring the nation's total capacity to 600,000 barrels per day.

At the National Fertilizer Company, Onne, the minister of industries and technology, retired Major General Bagudu Mamman, observed that Nigeria and Uganda had similar political and economic challenges, particularly, in the areas of feeding their teeming populations. President Museveni and Gen. Babangida were later seen off at the Port Harcourt International Airport by Governor Rufus Ada-George and other top government officials.

Museveni Call for Closer Ties

AB2507132792 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English
1030 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] African governments have been advised to speed economic reconstruction in their various countries. President Ibrahim Babangida gave the advice on Thursday [23 July] in Abuja at a state banquet he hosted in honor of his Ugandan counterpart, President Yoweri Museveni, who is on a four-day visit to the country. President Babangida said that political freedom was meaningless without economic independence. He explained that it was a matter of necessity and deliberate policy that Nigeria had made self-reliance a cardinal principle and strategy in its on-going experiment in structural adjustment for economic and socioeconomic transformation. He commended the contribution made by Uganda towards the revival of the defunct East African Economic Community. President Babangida called for closer economic ties between Nigeria and Uganda, noting that like Nigeria, Uganda has increased (?positive change) in national reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Responding, President Museveni also called for closer economic cooperation between Nigeria and Uganda, saying that both countries should exploit the vast trade and investment opportunities that existed in their territories. He suggested that a Nigerian-Ugandan joint commission be established, adding that urgent steps should be taken to concretize the various agreements that had earlier been signed by both countries during President Babangida's visit to Uganda.

Museveni Urges Army Consolidation

AB2507222092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 2100 GMT 25 Jul 92

[Text] Nigeria's Third Republic politicians have been urged to consolidate on the development achieved by the military when they finally take over government. President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda made the call today during a visit to the Command and Staff College, Jaji, on the last lap of his state visit to Nigeria. The Ugandan leader described the programs and projects initiated by the military as a challenge to the new breed politicians. He remarked that those who put together such programs had a progressive vision.

In terms of cooperation, the Ugandan leader noted that Nigeria had transferred military technology to his country's Army. He said that Ugandan soldiers have been trained in leadership and military tactics in various institutions in Nigeria. President Museveni called on African nations to cooperate and develop an indigenous military doctrine that would suit local conditions. The first step, he said, would be for individual African countries to finalize their situations and develop suitable concepts. The second step would be the exchange of these concepts for modification and possible adaptation

by other countries. President Museveni, who was accompanied by President Ibrahim Babangida, will leave for home tomorrow.

Communique Issued

AB2607215092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 1800 GMT 26 Jul 92

[Text] Nigeria and Uganda have signed an agreement for the establishment of a permanent joint trade commission. This is contained in a communique signed by President Ibrahim Babangida and the president of Uganda, Mr. Yoweri Museveni, at the end of his four-day official visit to Nigeria. The two leaders expressed concern at the economic problems facing the African countries. Other problems are deteriorating terms of trade; falling commodity prices; unrelenting natural and man-made disasters as well as the lamentable phenomenon of refugees and drought.

On Liberia, the two leaders deplored the stalled peace process and called on the warring factions to heed the initiatives and efforts of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict in that country.

On Somalia, President Babangida and President Museveni expressed concern at the bloody civil strife in that country and called on all parties to the conflict to work towards reconciliation and the convening of a national conference to address the problem.

President Museveni commended President Babangida for his mediatory role played in the peaceful resolution of the Sudanese crisis. The two leaders called on the parties to the conflict to avail themselves of the opportunity for a speedy settlement of the dispute on the conflict in Rwanda. The two presidents welcomed the commitment by the transitional government in that country as well as efforts of the Rwandan Patriotic Front to ensure a peaceful settlement.

On South Africa, the two leaders deplored the violence in the black townships and called on the Pretoria government to live up to its responsibility to restore and maintain peace. They welcomed the recent UN Security Council debate on violence in South Africa and called on the parties in that country to resume the negotiation process within the framework of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

The two leaders called on the international community to exert pressure on South Africa by refraining from all official contacts with the South African regime until a democratic and non-racial constitution was drawn, leading to a free and fair election.

Military Urged To Follow Political Leadership

AB2507181592 Lagos DAILY TIMES in English
3 Jul 92 p 1

[Text] The Chief of Defense Staff, General Sanni Abacha, yesterday said the place of the military as from

1993 should be that of followership and commitment to politically-constituted authority.

General Abacha stated this in an address sent to the opening of a one-day symposium titled "military professionalism, a critical factor in a democratic process," in Abuja. It was organised by the army to mark its yearly day celebration.

Represented by the director-general, Defence Ministry, Major-General Olu Bajowa (rtd), Abacha told the gathering that "Your loyalty, honour, dedication, intellectual, integrity and professional competence must be apparent and should be a veritable asset to the leadership that emerges from the democratic elections to be held."

Abacha, who also doubles as the Defence Minister, reminded the gathering that being a military administration and as members of the armed forces "We must remember that either at individual and collective levels that we must account for our actions and deeds."

He decried the tendency whereby military men who had had a stint with political offices tended to adopt civilian characteristics and expectations.

According to him, "This is sad as this new and sudden change of behaviour is contrary to military ethics and tradition."

He stressed: "The military should be seen as an instrument of public policy whose ultimate duty is to defend our nation's security in support of politically-constituted authority."

Abacha urged the military and, indeed, every Nigerian to pray so that the country should be blessed with what he called "a vibrant and dynamic civilian," administration in the Third Republic that would continue to uphold the unity of the country and usher in peace and progress.

Togo

Reactions to Amorin Attack Noted

HCR Issues Communiqué

AB2507144592 Lome Radio Lome in French
1230 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Communiqué issued by the High Council of the Republic in Lome on 24 July; read by Vice Chairman, Francis Ekon]

[Text] The High Council of the Republic [HCR] has just learned with great indignation of the cowardly attempt on the life of Mr. Tavio Ayao Amorin, chairman of the HCR Political Affairs, Human Rights, and Liberties Committee. The HCR notes with regret that the Machiavellian plot aimed at disrupting the current process by physically eliminating party leaders is still being pursued

inexorably in spite of the laudable efforts of the international community and the numerous concessions made in a bid to achieve a propitious social climate.

The HCR condemns in the strongest terms this odious, barbaric, and absurd crime which, just like those committed on the eve of the opening of negotiations between Togolese protagonists, can only be the work of those who reject dialogue and want at all cost to subject our people to the horror of armed confrontation. The HCR calls on the government to open an inquiry immediately so as to identify the criminals and bring them to book. It invites the international community to increasingly mobilize itself with each passing day so as to help find a solution to Togo's political crisis and to unequivocally condemn this faceless terrorism unrelentingly contrived against a people demanding their freedom. It urges the people to be constantly and increasingly mobilized to support and conduct the process embarked upon to the end. The HCR highly appreciates the devotion to duty of the appropriate authorities and staff of the University Teaching Hospital as well as the excellent care being given the victim. It requests all lovers of peace and freedom to pray for Tavio Amorin's speedy recovery.

Cabinet Issues Communiqué

AB2507102092 Lome Radio Lome in French
1900 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Communiqué issued at the end of Cabinet meeting in Lome on 24 July; read by Tchimbiano Djagba, minister of communication and culture]

[Text] After taking cognizance of the circumstances in which this sordid attack took place, the government strongly condemns this vile act that is part of the current wave of violence and attempts to destabilize the democratic process under way. The preliminary investigations undertaken since yesterday, and which are continuing, helped to recover at the scene of the attack a consignment of the following arms and ammunition:

Arms: a French 9-mm machine pistol No. B85502; a U.S. Smith and Wesson Model 66 .357 magnum revolver with cylinder no. G2143692 and frame no. AJZ5370.

Accessories: three machine pistol loaders, two of which were holding 24 and 25 9-mm cartridges and numbered MAT542 and MAT6022, respectively; the third unnumbered loader was empty.

Ammunition: 9-mm cartridges, including 24 (Norma) Luchaire and 25 ET176F; six .38 special (Norma) cartridges made in 1985.

Grenades: two French OF37T01TNP90 grenades, batch 01MOC85; two igniter sets, batch RMS88.

Also found were a pair of handcuffs and a professional card bearing the name of Karewe Kossi, born in 1967 at Pya, Koza Prefecture, a police constable working at the Police Academy as physical education instructor.

The government makes it a point to remind all this country's sons that (despite) violent reasoning that some people support to deal a halting blow to the democratic process—which after all is irreversible—it will not yield to blackmail. It reminds them all that only frank, direct, and sincere dialogue will enable Togolese, whatever their political leanings, to resolve their problems in this decisive period of our national life.

Furthermore, the government has decided to institute a legal investigation toward finding the perpetrators of the attack and bringing them to court.

In conclusion, the government makes it a point to sincerely thank the French Government which put a medically equipped Mystere-50 aircraft at its disposal to evacuate the wounded politician to Paris.

[During the same 1900 GMT newscast, it is reported: "Late this morning, we learned from a police source that revolver no. AJZ5370 [.357 magnum] found on the scene of the attack belongs to Police Lance Corporal Bokpessi of the Public Security Directorate. This lance corporal did not report for work today and furthermore, he and his wife are not found in their house. They are still being searched for.

[“In addition to this morning's Cabinet meeting, Prime Minister Kokou Koffigoh and some ministers held discussions with a Collective of Democratic Opposition-II [COD-II] delegation led by its chairman, Zarifou Ayeve. At the end of this meeting with the prime minister, a joint communique issued states that during the discussions, the two sides analyzed the crisis situation caused by the attack on Tavio Amarin. In view of Mr. Amarin's health status, the government informed the delegation on the arrangements made to evacuate him to Paris with French assistance. The arms of the crime were recovered, identified, and presented to the delegation.

[“At the end of the discussions, the two sides considered the situation as extremely serious. The COD-II delegation, for which Mr. Amarin is first general secretary, informed the prime minister of its intention to urge the head of state to return to Lome urgently. The prime minister contacted the head of state to make the same request. The prime minister also contacted the chairman of the High Council of the Republic who approved the idea of the immediate return of the head of state to Lome.

[“Furthermore, the government informed the delegation that an investigation is already under way to identify the perpetrators of the attack and bring them to court.

[“After leaving the prime minister's office this midday, Zarifou Ayeve, COD-II chairman, made the following statement:

[“Previously, we were to meet the prime minister at 1100 GMT to discuss another issue concerning the 28 July meeting. But, in view of last night's events, we urgently called on the prime minister to receive us, which he did, by interrupting the extraordinary Cabinet meeting that he had convened this morning. Our discussions centered on the attack on our friend Tavio Amarin. The fears that we entertained concerning the security of a number of the opposition leaders are being confirmed day after day. And we also (learned) that a number of people in this country want at all costs to block the democratic process. We then drew the conclusion that there is also an obvious willing to create in the country a climate likely to prevent the consultations and negotiations that will be held with the head of state on 28 July. We consider the situation to be extremely serious and in view of this, we made an appeal to the head of state to return to Lome so that all together we can examine the national situation. The situation is so serious that if no measures are taken it can become explosive. Actually, yesterday's attack is likely to seriously hamper the upcoming negotiations. Yesterday's attack, conditions and everything, is how we view the problem. I can tell you that we have reliable information that some groups in this country have prepared or organized themselves to assassinate a number of party leaders by 26 July. This is why we consider this situation very seriously.”]

Eyadema Condemns Attack

*AB2407172092 Lome Radio Lome in French
1230 GMT 24 Jul 92*

[Text] General Gnassingbe Eyadema, the head of state, is currently visiting Kozu Prefecture and has issued a communique strongly condemning the latest act of violence which could jeopardize Eyadema's efforts and initiatives aimed at resolving the political problems facing the country through consultation and dialogue with political leaders. The president of the Republic demands an immediate inquiry into the incident in order to identify and bring to justice the perpetrators of this criminal act. He urgently appeals to the Togolese people in general and political parties in particular to refrain from using violence in all its forms as a weapon of political struggle. Only consultation and dialogue can help the country overcome the political crisis it is now passing through. Last, the president expresses his sympathy to the victim and wishes him a speedy recovery.

[Paris AFP in English at 1636 GMT on 24 July adds in a Lome-dated report: “Togolese opposition politician Tavio Amarin, critically wounded here in an overnight shooting, is being moved to a French hospital for further treatment, Health Minister David Ihou said on Friday. A French Mystere 20 executive jet arrived to fly him there for hospitalisation at the Salpetriere Hospital in Paris, the minister said. Amarin, 34, leader of the Pan-African Socialist Party, had a five-hour operation here to treat wounds to the abdomen and legs. He was shot as he was walking home late at night from a political

meeting of the opposition to military ruler General Gnassingbe Eyadema. Party colleagues accompanying him said a man in civilian dress opened fire at point-blank range with an automatic weapon and then fled by car. They identified the assailant as a policeman living in the city centre district where the shooting happened." AFP adds: "Opposition sources saw the attempt on the life of Amorin, regarded as a hardliner, as further proof of a plan to eliminate troublesome opposition leaders. 'The situation is extremely serious and could jeopardise the dialogue initiated with the head of state,' commented Yao Agboyibo of the Action Committee for Renewal. Eyadema is due to meet the main political parties Tuesday [28 July] to try to end political violence."]

Bomb Explodes at Home of Military Official

*AB2507162592 Paris AFP in French 1503 GMT
25 Jul 92*

[Text] Lome, 25 Jul (AFP)—Six people, including four children, were slightly wounded on 24 July in Atakpame (160 km north of Lome) during a bomb attack on the house of the commander of the local gendarmerie unit, it was learned today from the gendarmerie.

Master Sergeant Yao Egle Tcham, 40, sustained wounds to the chin, and to the back, said the gendarmeries, were contacted by phone. The children and wife of the commander were slightly wounded by splinters.

This is the 18th explosion in Togo since May.

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28 July 1992

